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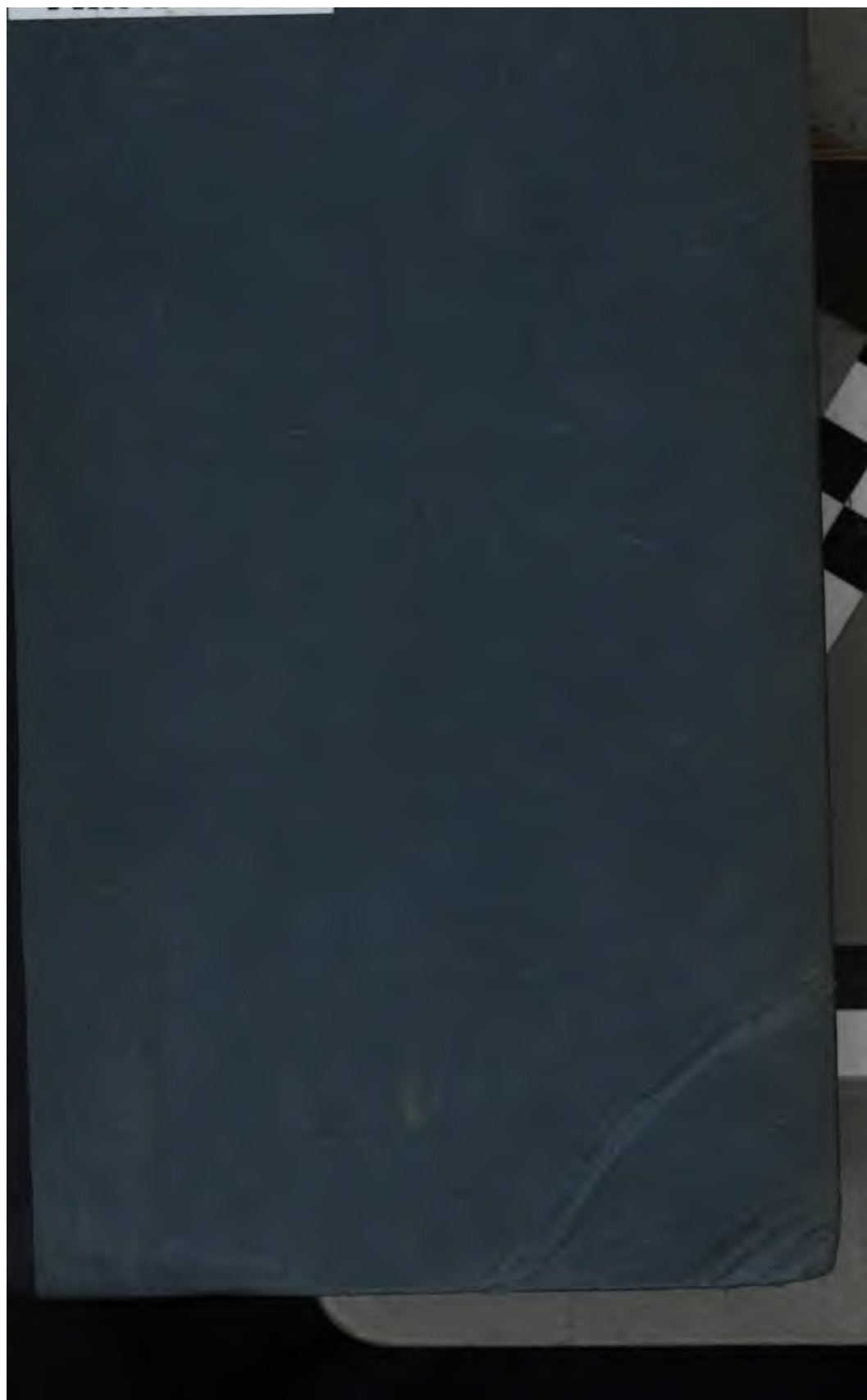
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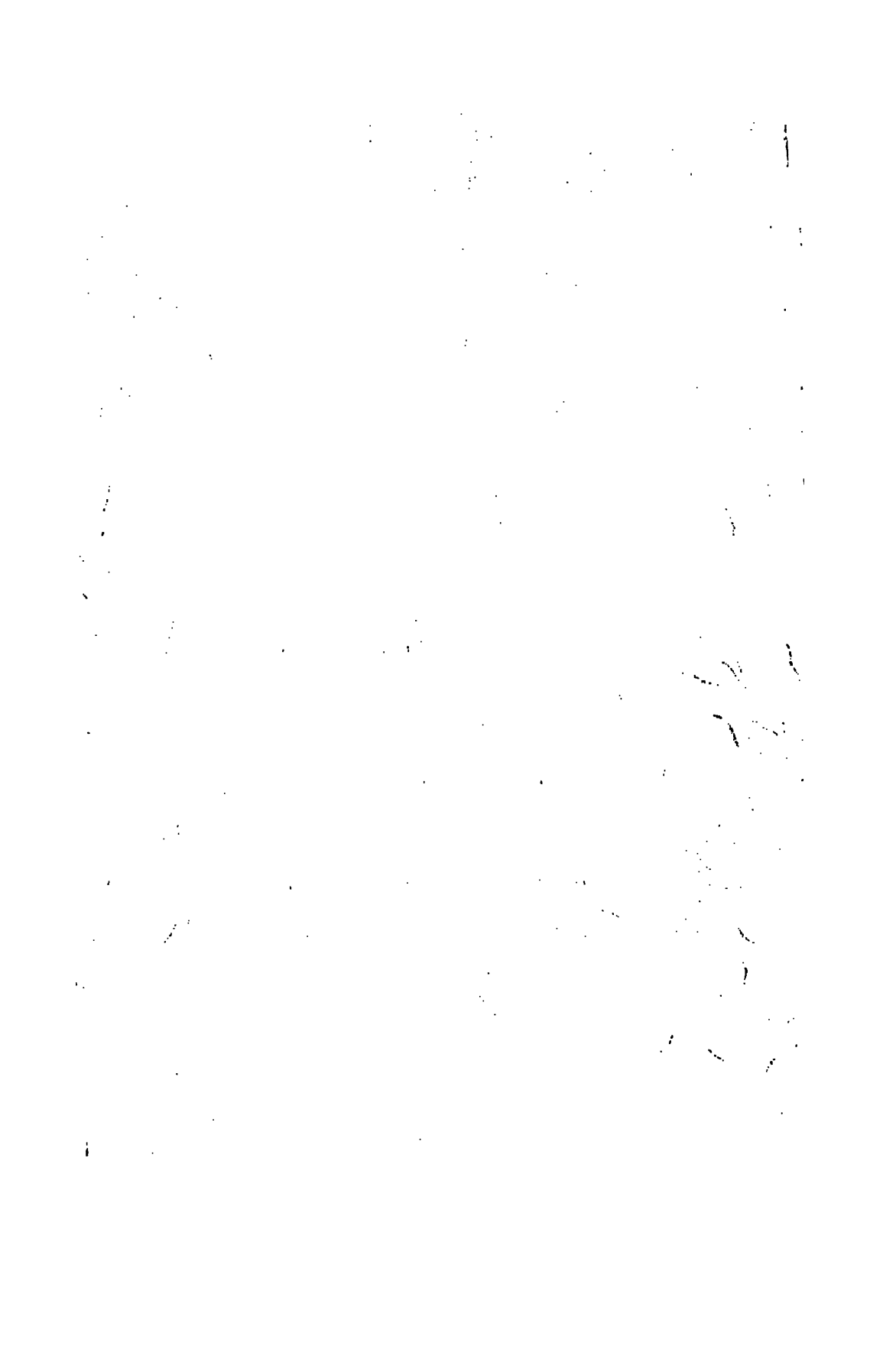
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Norfolk Archaeology.

Norfolk Archaeology:

OR,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTY OF NORFOLK,

PUBLISHED BY THE

NORFOLK AND NORWICH

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

*Nescio quâ natale solum dulcedine captos
Ducit, et immemores non sinit esse sui.*

VOL. XII.

Norwich :

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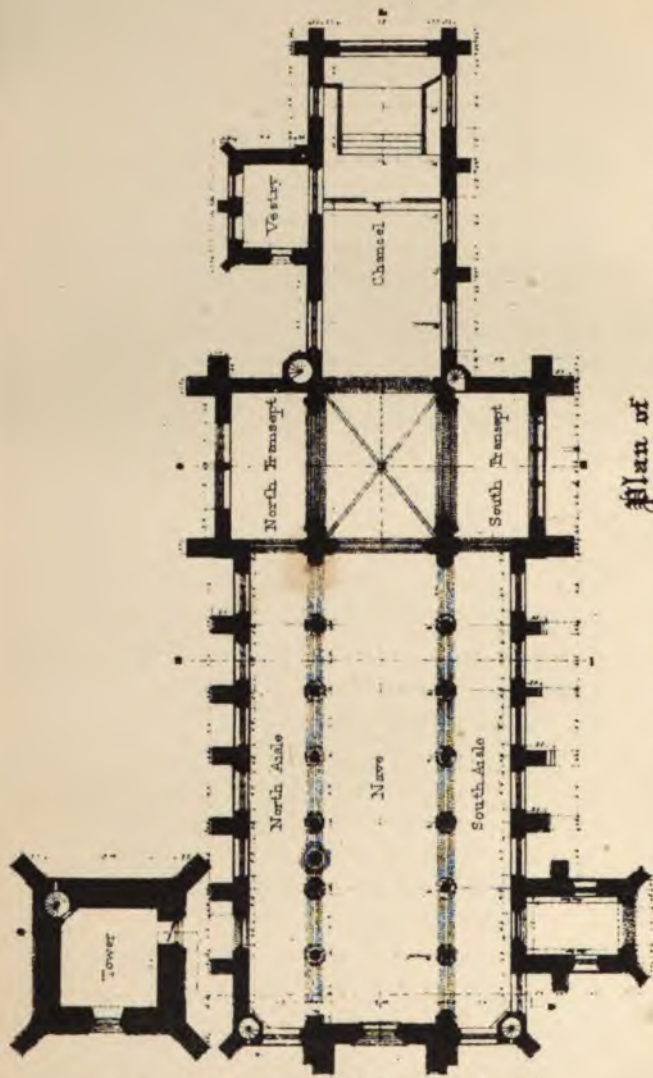
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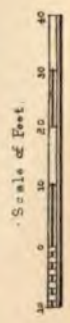
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Plan of
 TERRINGTON ST CLEMENTS CHURCH, NORFOLK.
 (By permission of the Editor of The Building News.)



C. S. Allen & Son, Photo-litho. Diss.

The Church of Terrington St. Clement.

COMMUNICATED BY

J. T. SECCOMBE, M.D.

THE ensuing notes¹ refer to certain constructional and historical details only, and are not intended to take the place of a general description of Terrington Church; such as that, for instance, which has already been given by a master's hand—that of the late Professor Freeman—in his *Architectural Tour in East Anglia*, to be found in the *Ecclesiologist*, vol. xii. p. 314.

Saxon Period.—Of this early date there are two probable specimens. One, a fragment, probably of a sepulchral cross, with interlaced pattern of good design.

The other consists of two window heads, to be seen among the fragments, now lying on the floor, at the west end of the church.

Norman Period.—The whole lower portion of the west end of the church, as high as the plinth, was, and to a certain extent still is, of Norman construction. This was particularly observed by me in the course of the underpinning of that part of the church, and of the

¹ Read at the Excursion Meeting, Sept. 8th, 1892.

re-building of the south-west turret in the year 1887.² In order to effect this, the original south-west corner of the church was uncovered at its foundation, and was found quite entire; the corner buttress having, of course, been added at a much later date, and not coursed or bonded into the older work. This portion of the building, which shows the shallow Norman buttresses, limits the westerly extension of the church lengthwise, and shows that the Norman church was as wide as the present one. The bases of the columns of the west doorway were at the same time uncovered, and still remain so. They are found to be diapered. The Decorated work above stops short abruptly, and after mature consideration will be left *in statu quo*.

Several bases and caps of fine Norman work have also been found: they were chiefly built up in the two huge buttresses which have been removed from the west front; also some elaborate mouldings, and what are probably voussoirs of a Norman chancel arch. These were bedded in the sill of the great west window.

Of the main fabric, it does not appear that any Norman remains exist, but the whole interior surface of the west wall of the nave, as far as the window sill, is old Norman ashlar with two large consecration crosses; and, judging from the proportions of the existing transepts, it is probable that they, as well as the western limb, formed part of the Norman ground plan.

First Pointed.—The only noticeable remains of this period are to be found in the chancel. The graduated sedilia and double piscina, with foliated caps and dog-

² The lower part of the wall, especially the south wall, at this part, was nothing but sheer rubble and mud.

tooth mouldings, are very good. At the restoration of 1879 fragments of these were found, partly *in situ* though built up, partly bedded in the wall, and partly built up into the last window opening on the north side of the chancel.

The sedilia and piscina fix the limit of the early English church to the eastward. The north chancel doorway, with mouldings, opening into the new vestry, is good early English work; as is also the hood moulding of the north aisle door giving on to the tower. The rest of this doorway is Perpendicular.

The only other first pointed remains are a singular little slab with a cross, like the cover of a little stone coffin, less than 2 ft. in length, which is now fixed on the floor of the gangway on the north side of the sacarium, and was found during the restoration of the chancel; and the voussoirs of the window arches of the south aisle, which are chiefly made from old stone coffin lids.

Second Pointed.—The main structure, with the south and west doorways, may be said to belong to this period. There are indications to show that the nave arcade was either commenced in a more elaborate style in the fourteenth century, and then that the design was changed, or else that preparations were making for a more elaborate rebuilding. This is, I think, shown by the portions of shafts, bases, plinths, and capitals, which were found in considerable numbers in the course of the restoration of the south aisle and west front, and specimens of each of which are preserved.

It was evident that these preparations were in hand in the year 1348-9, when the Black Death occurred. Its ravages were peculiarly severe in the diocese of Norwich, two-thirds of the parishes in the diocese were left

without incumbents, and many parishes were almost depopulated. These events must have affected such an undertaking as the rebuilding of such a large church as this of Terrington, and we have certain evidences that at this very time great changes were in contemplation.

It is clear that preparations were being made for increasing the width of the aisles—this is shown by the continuation of the arch mouldings at their eastern ends—and for extending the transepts, and giving them aisles westward, as shown by the jambs kept in place on the aisle walls. But, owing very likely to the cause I have mentioned, these plans of extension had to be given up, and the church had to be hastily finished on the old ground plan. A plain arcade was constructed, and the arches simply recessed and chamfered, but the main arches of the crossing are enough to show us something of the scale on which the church was intended to be finished. The parapet of the south transept gable is of Decorated work.

To this period, and to about the date 1383, may be referred the fine clunch images which were found during the restoration in 1887. Two of these were of angels, no doubt from the corbels of the nave roof. They are well designed, the carving of the highest character, the colouring and gilding beautifully executed. Instead of bearing musical instruments, they hold scrolls in their hands. I cannot identify the inscriptions. The most remarkable point about these figures is the position in which they were found. They were built into the spandrels of the south arcade of the nave, their back surfaces flush with the nave wall, but their front painted surfaces carefully preserved by being surrounded by cavities left in the walling; so that when the outside stones were removed, for the



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FIGURES OF ST. CLEMENT AND ST. CHRISTOPHER,
TERRINGTON CHURCH.

purpose of letting in the corbels for the principals of the aisle roof, the figures were seen each in a little niche in the wall. Only two of these figures have hitherto been found, but there can be little doubt that others exist in corresponding situations.

On the removal of the two large useless buttresses on the west front, two shallow niches were found. The existence of these was, however, seen previously to the removal of the buttresses, which did not entirely cover them. The canopies over them are lofty, with ball and flower ornaments. When the buttresses had been lowered to about six or eight feet from the ground, two large figures were found.

That in the buttress on the south was of an archbishop or pope, in amice, alb, stole, and maniple; dalmatic, tunic, chasuble, with anchors as a pattern, and pallium. The hands are gloved, the right with ring, in the attitude of blessing; the left grasping fragment of staff, of which other fragments were found. The head and top of the staff are missing. At the feet on right side of figure are the shaft and ring of anchor—the emblem of St. Clement. The figure is three-quarter size, sculpture remarkably good; the whole of the vestments were coloured and gilt, but in process of joining the fragments in which the figure was found, the greater part of the colour was unavoidably lost. The other figure is of the same size, and is that of St. Christopher. This is complete, but the infant Saviour, which is borne on the left shoulder, has the head missing. The traces of colour were unmistakeable when the figure was first found, but have been lost; this figure was wetter and softer than the other when found.

A small Decorated fragment was found in the chancel wall—it is a typical bell-wether, forming part of plinth

or moulding. It is now fixed close to where it was found.

Third Pointed.—All the windows in the church are Perpendicular, with the exception of a restored one in the chancel. But they are of very different date and merit. The grand range of fourteen clerestory windows on each side, and all the windows west of the chancel, are fourteenth century, or early flowing Perpendicular. Those in the chancel are later, of inferior design—more harsh and angular. The east window poorest of all. Including the vestry, there are eighty-one windows in the church which are glazed. Among the fragments preserved is one of good arcading, with separate cornice and battlement. This appears to have been part of the reredos, and was found built up in one of the great buttresses.

In the lantern, besides the curious east window, are four brackets or springers, of late fifteenth-century work, evidently intended for the ribs of a fan-tracery vault. It may have been that the existence of the window was felt as a difficulty in the way of the construction of this vault.

The porch and tower are of late Perpendicular. The lower stage of quatrefoiled panels of both range together.³ The tower is detached from the wall of the north aisle, most likely to afford room for the widening of the aisle, as already referred to. The pinnacles of the porch and tower, as well as of the aisles, did not exist in Cotman's plates of 1817. They were, in fact, added in or about the year 1849, when the Rev. E. E. Blencowe was Rural Dean. The south-west turret was at that time used as a chimney, with a red tile chimney pot on the top, the fireplace being the arched doorway below.

³ But the work in the porch is more ornamented than that in the tower. There are shields in the quatrefoils.



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TERRINGTON ST. CLEMENT'S CHURCH.

SOUTH-EAST VIEW.

The porch is late Perpendicular, and was evidently intended to carry a parvise.

The grandest, most conspicuous, and significant feature in an old English church, was the chancel screen, with its rood-loft or gallery; and the great rood brooding over all. This would immediately seize the attention of everyone entering, and must be carefully taken into account by anyone who would form a correct notion of the architectural proportions and acoustic effect of our churches. By the screen the church would, in effect, be divided into two halls or apartments, each to a certain extent entire in itself. The separation of the two was more complete during the season of Lent, when the great purple veil was hung from the loft. Certain parts of the service were rendered from the loft, which was strictly the first place to be called the pulpit. The altar, with its surroundings, was more simple than is now the case in many of our modern churches, and the reredos was low, generally a simple arcade, with curtains.

Of this great screen and gallery no remains exist in Terrington Church; but the turrets at the angles between transepts and chancel still contain, each of them, a staircase which gave access at a low level, through a doorway, of which the jambs and lintel can still be traced, to the rood-loft; higher up to chancel roof; and still higher, to the roof of the lantern. The north turret was unavoidably blocked up during the restoration of the chancel; the south turret is still practicable. The old finials of the north and south-west turrets are on gate posts in the stable yard at Lovell's Hall.

There are portions of six altars still in the church: three of stone, three of wood. 1, the high altar slab of stone, now beneath the holy table; 2, 3, a stone

slab in each transept; 4, the Elizabethan table or "oyster-board" in the vestry; 5, the Georgian table in the north transept; 6, the new holy table over the old slab.

The font is a fine fourteenth-century one, but badly split by the heavy iron stanchions which uphold the cover. The upper part of the cover is supposed to be Flemish work, but patched and altered. The paintings in the lower part are grotesque, but curious—the temptation, fasting, and baptism of our Lord, with the motto, *Voce Pater, Natus corpore, Flamen ave.*⁴ The font probably stood originally in the west bay of the south aisle, where there are marks of what was probably an ambry for the oils.

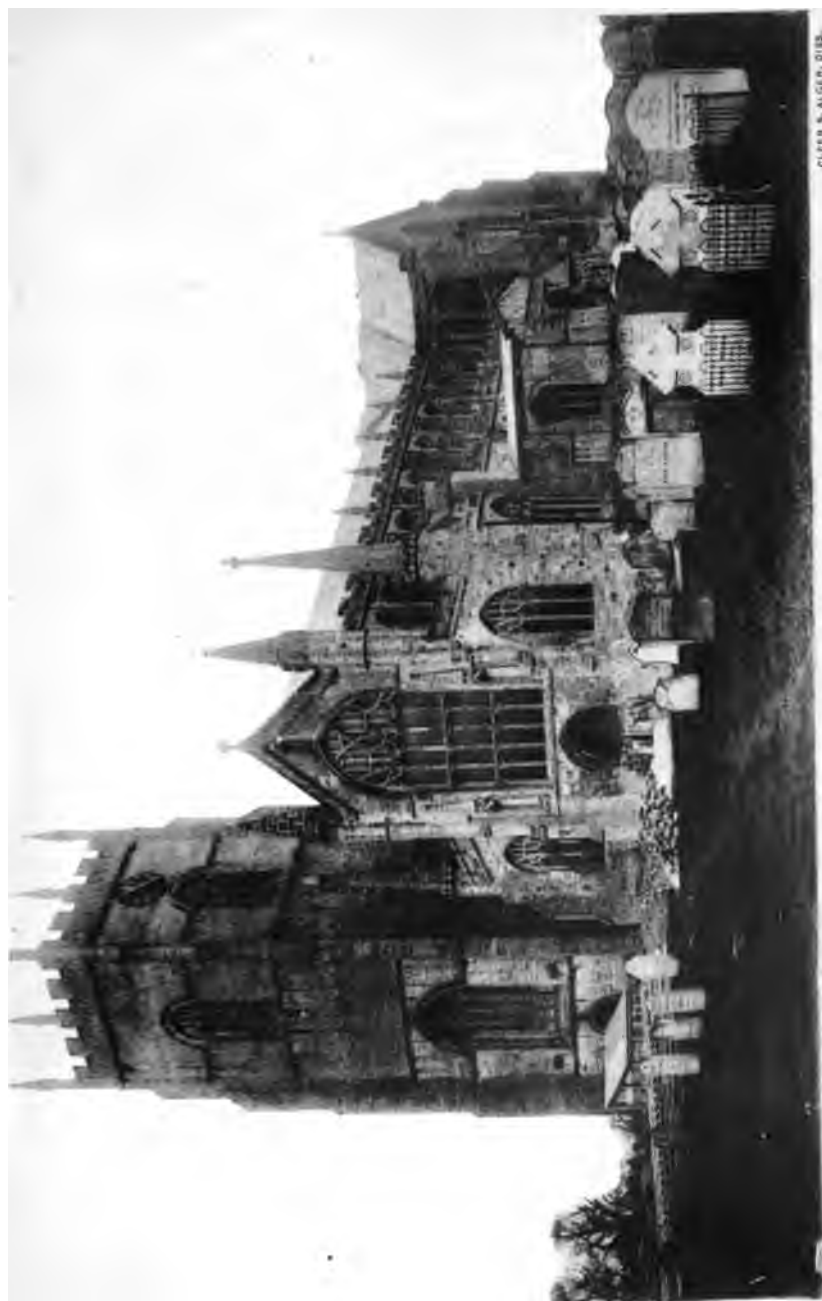
The two tablets in the transepts in black letter of Lord's Prayer and Creed are in their original situations: very fine, dated 1635.

The floor level of the transept and one bay to the west is one step higher than that of nave and aisles further west. The step, which is just outside the reading pew, was turned into a slope for the bath chair of Sir Graham Hamond. Of course, this was all west of the rood screen, and therefore not for the choir. The same arrangement of levels exists at Walpole St. Peter. What was its object I cannot suppose.

The classical screen and doors at the west end of the nave are all good of their kind, and will be preserved.

The finest features of the church are the west front; which, as a composition telling its own tale, and the natural termination of the building, is scarcely to be surpassed; and the long range of fourteen clerestory windows, which is very effective, and was said by

⁴ The Father (revealed) by the voice; the Son, by the body; the Spirit, by the bird.



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TERRINGTON ST. CLEMENT'S CHURCH.
SOUTH-WEST VIEW.

Mr. John Walter to be one of the finest things in England. Inside, the five arches on the east wall of the nave, matching the five lights of the lantern window, are noticeable.

The parapets of the three principal gables, those of the nave, the south and north transepts, are all different. That of the west gable is arcaded, vertically to the horizon. That of the south transept is finished with a flowing Decorated pattern, but with the ends arcaded, with two shields at the east end and one at the west end. That of the north transept is arcaded throughout, but perpendicularly to the line of work. No cross on the north gable, two fine old ones on west and south, that on the eastern gable is new. The cross on the west gable is not shown in Cotman's print of 1817.

The two existing flying buttresses are old. The imposts for a series may be seen on the walls of the north clerestory.

The small tablet, and iron fencing, in the middle of the north chancel wall, are well worthy of notice as excellent examples of their style and date.

The bosses fixed on the planking of the modern roof are of plaster, most likely cast from old wooden ones. They are a source of possible danger, though the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings made a great point of their being preserved in 1887.

The plate is massive: the alms dish, 34 oz., dated 1743; two flagons, 19 oz. each, 1754, given by the Rev. Dr. Newcome, a former vicar; the chalice, 11 oz., dated 1692, was given by "Thomas Moyes, Peter Daley, a parishioner." The registers date from 1598.

*Measurements carefully taken by Dr. Seccombe
and Mr. Bryant, 25th August, 1887.*

CHANCEL.—Length of south side, 55 ft. 10 in.; north side, 56 ft. Width at east end, 22 ft. 8 in.; at west end, 22 ft. 5 in.

TRANSEPTS.—Width, north end, 26 ft. 4 in.; south end, 26 ft. 4 in. Length, north to south, 54 ft. 2 in. Depth of south transept, 16 ft. 9 in.; north transept, 16 ft. 5 in.

LENGTH OF CHURCH, end to end, 166 ft. 9 in. inside.

NAVE.—Length from chancel arch to west end inside, 110 ft. 9 in. Width of nave and aisles, 46 ft. 8 in.

LENGTH OF BAYS on south side, beginning at the east: I., 12 ft.; II., 11 ft. 7½ in.; III., 11 ft. 6 in.; IV., 11 ft. 6 in.; V., 11 ft. 6 in.; VI., 11 ft. 8 in.; VII., 12 ft.

TOWER.—Height, 80 ft. to base of parapet. Inside measurement, at level of ringing chamber, 16 ft. 4 in. by 16 ft. 4 in.

The Inscriptions on the Bells:—

1. Tho^s. Lester made me.
2. IOHN GOLDSMITH, ST. + MARIA, 1711, G. OSIER, R. SCOTT (medallion of wheatsheaf).
3. John Mudd and William Wright, Churchwardens, 1816 (by Dobson).
4. + NUNC CLEMENS EGO CANO VOBIS ORE JUCUNDO, 1595. R. W., R. H. (Medallion).⁵
5. T. NEWMAN, FECIT. IOHN BASELY & WILLIAM WILLEMOT, C. W., 1731.
6. Arnold and Osborn, fecit, (*sic*) 1778.

⁵ See L'Estrange's *Church Bells of Norfolk*, pp. 78, 221.

The following list of the armorial bearings on the battlements of the church is extracted chiefly from the Rev. E. Farrer's *Church Heraldry of Norfolk*, ii. 220:—

On the Battlements of the South Aisle.

1. Plain.
2. (Gules), an eagle displayed (or), *Godard* or *Goddard*. This family held lands here from the thirteenth century, and at Walpole St. Peter's, where the arms, quartering *Denver*, are on the south porch.
3. Quarterly (or and gules). In the second quarter an annulet (sable); a border (of the last) bezantée, *Rochford*. This was also a manorial family at Walpole.
4. (Gules), three dexter gauntlets pendent (or); a canton chequy (of the second and azure), *Denver*. Walter Godard married Catherine Denver, and held the manor of Denvers in Walpole in the 5th of Richard II.
5. (Gules), a bend between six cross-crosslets fitchée (argent), *Howard*. William Howard purchased lands here in the 20th of Edward I., and Howard's manor still exists.
6. (Sable), a chevron between three crosses patonce (or), *John Fordham*, Bishop of Ely, 1388 to 1425. The Bishops of Ely were lords of the principal manor here. This shield gives an approximate date to the church.
7. A fess engrailed between three trefoils slipped.
8. (Gules), a fess between six cross-crosslets (or), *Beauchamp*.
9. Plain.
10. (Azure), three cinquefoils (or), *Bardolf*. This family held a manor here.
11. Plain.
12. (Azure), three escallops (argent), *Scales*.
13. Plain.
14. On a chevron three trefoils slipped, *Walbode*?

This family held lands here in the 21st of Edward III. On the chancel seats at St. Margaret's, Lynn, this shield is carved.

On the Battlements of the North Aisle.

15. Cross and crown of thorns, with nails. Shield of the *Passion*.
16. Scourging pillar between whip and spear in pale. *Ditto*.
17. An anchor?
18. (Gules), three crowns (or), *See of Ely*.
19. *Bishop Fordham*, as No. 6.
20. (Argent), a bend (gules), *Tyrington*.
21. A cross flory.

On the Battlements of the Tower.

22. Shield of the *Five Wounds*.
23. A chevron between three mullets.
24. A chevron between three crowns.
25. A saltire, *St. Andrew*.
26. A bend sinister between four crosses patonce.
27. An anchor, *St. Clement*.
28. Two swords in saltire, *St. Paul*.
29. A chevron between two crosses.
30. A cross, *St. George*.
31. *Bishop Fordham*, as Nos. 6 and 19.
32. Shield of the *Passion*.
33. *Bishop Fordham*.
34. Two keys in saltire, *St. Peter*.

On the North Buttress of the Tower.

35. Much worn. Probably *Rochford*, with annulet in the second quarter.

Names on the Wissey.

COMMUNICATED BY

JOHN JAMES COULTON.

LIKE the Nar,¹ the Wissey runs its course wholly in West Norfolk. It has two chief sources, at Bradenham and Dunham. The streams meet at Holme Hale, and run through or by Pickenham, Cressingham, Hilborough, Bodney, Langford, Ickborough, Stanford, Buckenham Parva, Colveston, Lynford, Mundford, Cranwich, Diddlington, Northwold, Fouldon, Whittington, Stoke Ferry, Wretton, Wereham, West Dereham, Roxham, Fordham, Hilgay, and Denver, where the river falls into the Great Ouse, a little above Denver Sluice. In its course it receives an affluent from Carbrooke, through Watton, Ovington, and Saham Tony, and others from Cockley Cley, Methwold, and Oxburgh.

I will speak first of the river name, and then of the place-names in alphabetical order.

The first mention I have found of the river name is by Dugdale (*History of Imbanking*, 1662, p. 95) who says that at a Session of Sewers, 17th Eliz., it was ordered "that the river of Wisse, extending from

¹ For "Names on the Nar" see vol. xi. p. 203, of the Society's publications.

"Whittington to Stoke Bridge, be clenched, and made
"in bredth xl. foot."

Blomefield (vi. 138) "cannot learn that it has any
"name, till, being joined by other rivulets, it is called
"below Cranwich, &c., the Wissey." In the same volume,
however (p. 11), he says that in Holme Hale "was also
"a hamlet called Erneford, which stood by the bridge
"that retains its name at this day . . . this bridge is
"over a small stream that arises at East Bradenham,
"and runs thence to the Pickenhams, and probably was
"antiently known by the name of Erne." Compare here
the river Erne and two loughs of the same name in
Ireland; also Eyneford Hundred in Norfolk. But the
name of Erne for our river, if it ever existed, has
merged in that of Wissey.

The derivation of this is pretty clear. Ox, Ouse, Usk,
Esk, Isk, Ick, Is, Isis, Wis, are forms of a river name
frequent in Britain, and not unknown elsewhere. To
the native Wis the Normans added their eau, making, as
so often happens, a double water name. This addition the
English changed into e, ea, or ey, and so we get Wissey.
A similar process in Cornwall gives us Saint Issey on the
north, and Mevagissey on the south coast. And so comes
Wisbech Eye, the channel in the Wash that leads to the
Nene. And Eau Brink is in common pronunciation Eabrink.

In what follows I have used these abbreviations:—

D. for *Domesday* (Norfolk), photozincographed 1862.

B. for *Blomefield's Hist. of Norfolk*, 11 vols., 1805.

M. for *Munford's Local Names in Norfolk*, 1870.

C. for my suggestions.

BODNEY. *D.* 254, Bodeneia; 257, Budeneia. *B.* vi. 13,
a dwelling or abode by the water. *M.*, Bode, Bodin, a
personal name. *C.*, Bodingey, Boding isle; compare
Bodington, town of a tribe of Bodings.

This theory of place names ending in *ney*, seems to explain some obscure words, *e.g.*, Cockney (Cocking, Cockington), Hackney (Hackington), Putney (Puttenham).

BRADENHAM. *D.* 118, 253, Bradenham; 287, Bradehā; 320, Bradeham. *B.* vi. 138, broad, the houses being scattered. *M.*, personal name, brad, broad. *C.*, a home of Bradings, compare Brading.

Ing often in spelling, and oftener in pronunciation, becomes *en*. Thus in Norfolk, Buckingham becomes Buckenham. And in 3rd Edw. III. (*Dugdale*, 302) the Shireeve of Huntendonshire.

BUCKENHAM. *D.* 269, 316, Buckenham. *B.* i. 369, from bucks, not beech trees. *M.*, buc, beech trees; bucca, buck; boc, charter. *C.*, the home of a tribe of Buckings corrupted (as in Bradenham) into Bucken.

CARBROOKE. *D.* 254, 314, Cherebruc, Weskerebruc. *B.* ii. 234, Car by the brook. *M.*, turn or bending or swampy ground. *C.*, the car brook.

CLEY (COCKLEY). *D.* 23, Cleia; 118, 336, Claia; 247, Cleie torpa; 254, Cules torpa. *B.* vi. 36, from the stream or river that rises at the head and runs through the midst of the town, and so to Gooderstone and Oxburgh, where it falls into the Wissey; compare Cleybrooke, Cleydon. *M.*, Clay, or perhaps personal; Cockley, perhaps from an early lord, but more likely from water. *C.*, Cley, clay, *Skeat's Etymol. Dict.* 1882; Cockley, watery meadow.

Cleythorpe and Culesthorpe seem to be hamlets. Compare Clee, Clecthorpes, Sculthorpe.

COLVESTONE. *D.* 108, Coves tuna. *B.* ii. 229, Sax. cove, a small creek. *M.*, A.S. cof, cove, a cove or recess (of the Wissey); or personal, Coolf or Cunlf. *C.*, Colv's town; compare Colva (Colv island).

CRANWICH. *D.* 108, Crane Wisse. *B.* ii. 222, turn of the Wissey. *M.*, cran, a crane. *C.*, Crane river; so Norwich, North river (Wensum, north of Waveney).

CRESSINGHAM. *D.* 165, Cresineghahā; 178, gresinghahā, cressinghahā; 253, Cressingaham; 337, Cresingham. *B.* vi. 94, Cres-ing-ham, the village at the meadows by the creke or rivulet. *M.*, a filial settlement of the Cressings, founded by one Cres or Cress. *C.*, home of Cressings; compare Cressing, Gressenhall.

DENVER. *D.* 103, Danefella. *B.* vii. 315, seated in a valley by the water. *M.*, Den, or perhaps Dane, field. *C.*, Dane shore, ver being the remains of over, ufer, a shore (Taylor, *Words and Places*, 1885, 240). Skeat (weir) says that ver is a fishing station. This may be the origin of the noble and antient name of De Vere. *D.* 267, mentions a family of de Ver.

Place names ending in er will, I think, usually be found near water. Er may mean water, as Re does (Taylor, 137). Er and Re may be interchangeable, as Ox and Usk.

Whether the prefix "Dane" throws any light on the origin of "the famous Roman Way from this place to "Peterborough over the great level of the fens, about "twenty-four miles" (*B.* vii. 321) is an interesting enquiry. And the old name of Peterborough, Medhamsted, has a Danish termination.

The frequent differences between the spelling of a place name in *Domesday* and that by which it is now known,

and in *Domesday* itself between names supposed to mean the same place, may, I think, be explained by the supposition that there was more than one place bearing some similarity of name, *e.g.*, Dane-fella and Dane-over, Dane-clearance and Dane-shore, or that the same place was known by different names. It seems unlikely that a scribe, however little versed in the native tongue, should write Danefella when he meant Denver, or any word like it.

DEREHAM (WEST). *D.* 331, Dereham. *B.*, from the British word *Dur*, water, being near the fens and the river Wissey, and also having three or four little rivulets or streams of water running through it; thus Durham, Derby, &c. *M.*, Germ. *thier*; A.S., *deor*, deer or wild animal. *C.*, Deer home (*Taylor*, 320).

DIDLINGTON. *D.* 117, 273, Dudelingatuna. *B.* vi. 87, offers no etymology, but calls it Dudlington, after *Domesday*. *M.*, a home of Dudlings, descendants of Duddo or of Doddo, a famous Earl of Mercia. *C.*, home of Didlings; compare Didling, Dillington.

Richard Holditch, lord in 39 Edw. III., was probably an ancestor of the old Lynn family of that name.

DUNHAM. *D.* 54, 254, Dunham. *B.* ix. 48, Home on the down or hill, in which *M.* and *C.* agree.

FORDHAM. *D.* 103, 209, Forham; 214, Phorham; 255, Phordham; 334, 338, Fordeham. *B.* vii. 366, Ford, from a causeway over a fenny ground to Helgay. *M.*, Ford. *C.*, Ford home.

FOULDON. *D.* 72, Fulenduna; 117, Fugalduna; 267, Phuldona. *B.* vi. 36, from the plenty of wild fowl

which frequents it. *M.*, Fugel, fowl. *C.*, Fowl hill; compare Foulmire (Fowl mere), Fulbeck, Fulbourn, &c.

HILBOROUGH. *D.* 118, Hildeburh Wella. *B.* vi. 112, seated on the decline of a hill in a springy ground. *M.*, a nook of land near the joining of two rivers; A.S., hilde, battle; burh, station. *C.*, Burgh of Hillings; compare Hilling, Hillington, &c.

The burgh, I suppose, is now the site of the parish church. The ling seems to have been dropped here, and in Welbury and Welford.

HILGAY. *D.* 55, Halingheia; 102, Hidlingheia; 213, Hidlingeia. *B.* vii. 369, a village on a hill, surrounded with water and fens. *M.*, Patronymic. *C.*, Hillingay, Hilling Isle; compare Hilling, &c.

The alternative modern spelling and pronunciation, Helgay, has no support from *Domesday*. But supposing it to be antient, it would be Hellingay, Helling Isle.

HOLME HALE. *D.* 23, 237, Holmus. *B.* vi. 7, land enclosed with water. *M.*, Holm island, Hale hall. *C.*, an island retreat, hale being the Teutonic hal, hide—*Skeat*.

ICKBURGH. *D.* 108, Inkeburna (*B.* thinks this is In Keturn); 255, Icheburna; 266, Iccheburna; 316, Ichebure. *B.* ii. 232, a town or burgh on the burn or brook. *M.*, Ick, an early Anglo-Saxon or Frisian proprietor. *C.*, Ick, a tribal name; compare Hickling, Icklingham; the burn or the burgh (see Denver) of the Icks or Icklings. The burgh may be the site of the parish church.

LANGFORD. *D.* 257, Langaforða. *B.* vi. 20, Longford, *M.*, lang, long. *C.*, Long Ford.

LYNFORD. *D.* 131, Lineforda; *B.* ii. 263, a fenny or miry passage, or, as some will have it, a spreading water. *M.*, Lind, a lime tree, or a personal name. *C.*, Marsh ford.

METHWOLD. *D.* 55, Methel Walde; 107, Metel Walde. *B.* ii. 201, the wold between Northwold and Hockwold, the Middle Wolde, and thus, he says, it was wrote temp. Hen. II. *M.*, middle or perhaps meth, mead, metheglin. *C.*, middle wold.

METHWOLD HITHE. *D.* 108, Otrinkechia, Otringheia. *M.*, a filial settlement of the family or descendants of Otre or Otro. *B.* ii. 203, treats these as one town, which he identifies with a place written in 1203 Otringeithe, in 1428 Otringhithe, and at the Dissolution Oteringhithe. If this is so, the termination ia or eia, island, was in little more than a century corrupted into hithe. The double mention in *Domesday*, with a different spelling (although only seven lines intervene) and Wetinge coming between them, suggest that these may have been two islands on the Little Ouse, one above and the other below Weeting, occupied by tribes of Otrings or Otterings; compare Ottery, Otterington.

Bromhill Priory was founded in or about the reign of John (*B.* ii. 203), and it is possible that the Otterings, voluntarily, or more probably by compulsion, gave up their isle for its site, and migrated to Methwold. So the Priory of Pentney was founded in the Isle (Eya) in the Nar (*B.* ix. 38). Such sites had the double advantage of protection and water supply.

Many tribal names survive as surnames. Oder, Hodder, Otter, are forms of water, and James Watering, who died at Lynn in 1845, may have been a descendant of these Otterings.

MUNDFORD. *D.* 108, Mondefort; 149, Mundeforda; 210, Mondeford. *B.* ii. 242, from Mund, which signifies in the Saxon tongue a rampart or place of defence. *M.*, Mund; *A.S.*, mound; Ford should be fort. *C.*, the mound ford. The mound seems to have disappeared.

NORTHWOLD. *D.* 107, North Walde; 210, Nort Walde. *B.* ii. 210, Wold from its situation in an open champaign country, and North in respect of Methwold and Hockwold. *M.*, North wood, or wold, an open champaign country. *C.*, North Wold.

OVINGTON. Not mentioned in *D.* *B.* supposes included in Saham (ii. 296), and says it is the town of pasture land lying by the water, called in old evidences Uvyton, Eaffington, Offington. *M.*, settlement of descendants of Offa or Uffa. *C.*, Offingtoun; compare Uffington.

OXBURGH. *D.* 188, Oxenburgh; 273, Oxenburh. *B.* vi. 168, from its site on the Ouse or Wissey. *M.*, *A.S.* Oxa, an Ox. *C.*, the burgh or hill fort on the Wissey (or Ox).

But where is the burgh? I find none here, but I think it may be found close by, at Caldecot, *D.* 246, Caldanchota; 253, Caldachota; where there is a hill crowned by a ruined church; and at a little distance is a rude cinerary, containing calcined human bones, apparently a burial place of Romans or Romanized Britons. The hill I take to be the original Oxburgh (Wissey Fort). The Wissey is the slender remains of a wide expanse of water, that in old times covered the site of the present Oxburgh. The gradual subsidence of the sea level, described by Robberds in his *Eastern Valleys of Norfolk*, left dry a gradually increasing area. The population, which had grown up round the

burgh, followed the water, and, by degrees, the old village was deserted, and its name transferred to a new one, built on the soil left dry by the retreating water.

The Romans, no doubt, took possession of the Devil's Dyke and its termini—one (still remaining) at Narburgh, and the other, I think, at Caldecot—and built there a military station, which, at their departure, became a shelter where wayfarers found lodging, but not food or fire. Such disappointing hostels were called by the Saxons, Cold Harbour or Caldecot (cold cottage), names which occur in various parts of England, on or near roads formed or used by the Romans; and so the name Oxburgh, which had found a new place, was superseded in the old one by Caldecot.

PICKENHAM. *D.* 22, Pickenham; 72, Picheham; 119, Pichenham; 320, Pikham. *B.* vi. 65, no etymology. *M.*, personal name, Pik. *C.*, pik, a pike (fish), or Piking, the name of a tribe. The *c* is superfluous.

ROXHAM. *D.* 334, Rochesham. *B.* vii. 397, no derivation. *M.*, Roc, personal, perhaps Germ. rauch, rough. *C.*, Home of aurochs (wild ox); compare Wroxham. *D.* 47, Urocsham; 240, Urochsham; 218, Urochesham.

The sound denoted by *U* seems to have been dropped here before *D*.

SAHAM TONY. *D.* iii. 149, Saham. *B.* ii. 325, the dwelling at the great water, or sea. *M.*, Sea or mere. *C.*, like Marham, lake or water home, perhaps a lake village.

Tony (in later times) from its lord.

STANFORD. *D.* 260, Estanforda; 316, Stanforda. *B.* ii. 250, stony ford. *M.*, stan, stone. *C.*, Stone Ford.

STOKE FERRY. *D.* 244, Stokes; 285, 333, Stoches. *B.* vii. 437, not as is thought by some from stock, that is some wood, but from stow, a dwelling or habitation, and lies by the water, as Cheswick, Chesham, Cheston. *M.*, A.S. stoc, stock, trunk, a place strengthened with a stockade. *C.*, a stockade. Here, in later ages, was a ferry, now superseded by a bridge.

WATTON. *D.* 131, Wadetuna. *B.* ii. 312, town by the wade or ford. *M.*, ford town. *C.* agrees.

WEREHAM. *D.* 244, Wigreham. *B.*, from a stream or run of water issuing out of a pond in the midst of the town. *M.*, A.S. Wer, inclosure or personal name, Wigar, Wigre. *C.*, Water home; Wigre seems an old name for water. The form in *D.* survives in the surname Wigram.

WHITTINGTON. *D.*, not mentioned. *B.* ii. 221, no etymology. *M.*, Patronymic. *C.*, town of Whittings; compare Whittingham.

WRETTON. *D.*, not mentioned. *B.* v. 509, or Wiretam, from a stream of water running throught it. *M.*, as Wercham, or A.S. ret, rot, cheerful; or Wro. Icel. hra, Dan. vrau, Swed. vra, a corner. *C.*, a river name, as in Wretham, Retford.

On comparing the place-names on the two West Norfolk rivers, Nar and Wissey, we may observe that while the Nar has one ford, Narford, the Wissey has six, Fordham, Langford, Lynford, Mundford, Stanford, and Watton, the Wissey being, I suppose, not so wide and deep as the Nar.

On the Nar were three islands, Bilney, Pentney, and Wormegay; and on the Wissey three also, Bodney, Hilgay, and Holm. On the Nar one Burgh, Narburgh. On the Wissey three, Hilburgh, Ickburgh, and Oxburgh, besides a mound, Mundford; shewing, perhaps, that the Wissey was more in need of artificial defence.

Another, and much more remarkable difference, is that although, in *Domesday*, salinæ are frequently mentioned on the Nar, even so high up as Mileham, I have not found one on the Wissey, nor even on the Ouse. Now whether these salinæ were salt pans, salt pits, salt works, or salt marshes, their absence on these two rivers, coupled with their frequency on the neighbouring Nar, is very striking, and seems to show that the Wissey, and its recipient the Ouse, were, antiently, not tidal rivers. And this inference remarkably accords with Badeslade's assertion, apparently from tradition (*Navigation of King's Lynn*, 1766, § 2), that the antient outfall of the Great Ouse was not at Lynn but at Wisbech (Ousebeach), and that its waters were, at some period not stated, diverted by an artificial cut from Littleport into the Little Ouse, and so to Lynn; and this statement is adopted by Wells (*Bedford Level*, vol. i., pp. 26, 752.)

So great an addition to the water before descending by the Little Ouse to Lynn, would, of course, flood both Lynn and places above it, as Terrington and Wiggenhall, and account for their total omission or slight mention in *Domesday*.

On this hypothesis the Nar was emphatically, as it was often called, the Lynn River; the Little Ouse, augmented by the Wissey, being its affluent, and, with it, forming the haven of Lynn.

Below Lynn salinæ were very numerous, but decreased in number towards the sea; there being thirty at Gaywood, twenty at Wootton, twelve at Rising, eight at Babingley,

one each at Ingoldisthorpe, Dersingham, Snettisham, and Heacham, and none at Hunstanton or Holme.

And with these remarks I close my paper.

P.S.—In my “Names on the Nar” (*Original Papers*, vol. xi., p. 221) I hazarded a conjecture on the Norse foundation of Rome and origin of its name, a conjecture which I think will be strengthened if I may suppose the Norse leader to have borne the Scandinavian name of Orm, so easily transposed into Rom, and Latinized into Romus and Roma. That Rome was not the native name we know from Macrobius (*Saturn*, iii. 9) “nam propterea ipsi Romani et deum in cuius tutelâ urbs “Roma est, et ipsius urbis Latinum nomen, ignotum “esse voluerunt.”

Notes about Norwich before the close of the Thirteenth Century.

COMMUNICATED BY

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Hon. Sec.

1.—The Natural Features of the Site on which the City is built, p. 27. 2.—The Roman period, p. 29. 3.—The Times of the Angles and Danes, p. 32. 4.—Extent of the City in the time of King Edward the Confessor, p. 37. 5.—Norwich after the Norman Conquest, p. 50. 6.—The Twelfth Century; municipal consolidation, p. 55. 7.—The Thirteenth Century; commercial changes, p. 59. 8.—The early Woollen Trade in Norwich, p. 61. 9.—Madder and Woad, p. 64. 10.—Migration from the Country to the City, p. 66. 11.—The City and Feudalism, p. 70.

Blomefield's *History of Norwich*, until the latter part of the reign of King Henry III., is very deficient in local details, with the single exception of the period when the *Domesday Survey* gives a fairly full description of the burgh. This deficiency is not to be wondered at when we remember that before that time the sources of local information are extremely scanty. The uncertain testimony of tradition, a chance notice in some early chronicler, a royal charter conveying some rather indefinite privileges, a coin with the name of a king and a moneyer; these, or such as these, were all the evidences which Blomefield had at his disposal. Apart from the account in *Domesday*,

perhaps it may be said that the earliest source of local information in the way of documentary evidence is the Report of the Proceedings of the King's Itinerant Justices, who sat here in 34th Henry III., 1250. The roll itself may be seen in the Public Record Office in London, and copious extracts from it are to be found in the *Norwich Book of Pleas*. It is curious that this should be the first from which extracts appear to have been preserved even in the fifteenth century, when the *Book of Pleas* was compiled, for it did not mark any particular stage in the history of the city, nor is there anything of special importance in the extracts. About this time the stream of local documents begins to flow, and increases in volume till in the two last decades of the century it becomes remarkably abundant. Several hundreds of original Deeds of Feoffment, more than one thousand Enrolments of such deeds, seven Rolls of the Leet or Police Courts, besides some isolated Rolls of other kinds, in addition to the public Rolls of the Itinerant Justices, or of the Judges of Assize, constitute a wealth of evidence for this period, which probably few other towns possess. It is possible that not a little material still remains unexplored in the Public Record Office, and perhaps even in the Cathedral Treasury. On one point Blomefield seems to have availed himself of some source of information which I, at least, have never been able to discover. His account of the original foundation of many of the Norwich Churches is not taken from any documents which have come under my notice. That the Church of St. Peter Permouthergate, for instance, was "originally a rectory belonging to Roger Bigot," is a statement the foundation of which I have never been able to ascertain.

The present paper is not in any way intended to correct Blomefield's information, but to supplement it, partly by gathering up some few facts which have come to light since his time, and partly by pointing out some inferences or

conclusions as to earlier times, which may fairly be deduced from existing documents. For the latter the writer holds himself responsible, except where it is otherwise stated. A general chronological arrangement has been followed, not with a view of writing anything like a consecutive history, but only to reduce a number of stray items to some sort of order.

1.—THE NATURAL FEATURES OF THE SITE ON WHICH THE CITY IS BUILT.

Mr. Harrod (*Castles and Contents*, p. 130) was the first to draw attention to the frequent mention in early documents of a natural stream called the "Cockey," which flowed round the south-west and west sides of the Castle, and entered the river not far above Blackfriars' Bridge. Kirkpatrick had previously mentioned this and others in his now happily-recovered treatise on the *Streets and Lanes of Norwich*.¹ In editing that volume for our Archæological Society, I endeavoured to fill up the information from my own researches, and to point out what valuable evidence was afforded by these watercourses (whether perennial or not) as to the original features of the locality before it was settled and the existing streets were made. For the details there set forth, I may refer my readers to that publication (Appendix ii. p. 99). I will only summarize the result. On the south or Castle side of the river a ridge of high ground, forming a watershed, extended from Bracondale along the line of Ber Street, and making, probably, a gradual descent from Golden Ball Street to Tombland, finally sunk down to the level of the river at the place where now is Fye Bridge. On the western side of this ridge was the valley occupied by the Great Cockey, with the ground rising rapidly again beyond it; on the east was a steep

¹ Referred to in this Paper as *Streets and Lanes*.

declivity, between which and the river was a tract of meadow land, very narrow at its southern end towards Carrow, but becoming very broad at its northern end, where, in Saxon times, it was called the "Cowholm." There can be little doubt that in primitive times, before the mouth of the estuary was blocked at Great Yarmouth, the whole of this meadow must have been either permanently under water, or at least covered by the inflowing tide. Even in historic times, a church on the Cowholm was described as "*St. Mary in the Marsh.*" The northern side of the river had also a similar, though less distinctly marked, ridge of high ground, commencing by St. Augustine's Gates, passing along the line of St. Botolph Street and Magdalen Street, and terminating opposite to the other, near Fye Bridge.²

Besides the "cockeys," another indication of primitive topography may be found in the names "Conesford" and "Coselanye." The former name means the "King's ford." This must have been near Foundry Bridge,³ and implies that in the time of the Angle kings there was a passage over the river there on foot. Such a passage could only have been possible at low tide, and at an earlier time the tides would flow there even more freely. The other name "Coselanye" describes some sort of an island of sufficient prominence to give its name to a district.⁴ This, coupled with the undoubted fact that the ground above Fye Bridge, in the district called Colegate, was low marshy ground,⁵ would indicate that in primitive times Colegate and Coslany on one side of the river, and probably Nether Westwick on the other, were the site of a broad, which would doubtless be affected by the tide.

If we can thus find indications of a time when the river-side meadows were no better than marshes or tidal lakes, it

² *Streets and Lanes*, p. 102.

⁴ *Ibm.*, p. 72.

³ *Ibm.*, p. 2, n. 4.

⁵ *Ibm.*, p. 85.

needs no great effort of the imagination to clothe the higher grounds with their primitive forests. Of this, also, one relic survived in the name "Merholt,"⁶ or boundary wood, which lingered on a spot near the top of Middle Street till quite a late period.

2.—THE ROMAN PERIOD.

On the vexed question whether Norwich or Caistor was the Roman Station called Venta Icenorum, much has been written since Blomefield's time, with no conclusive result. Although no trace has been discovered of any general Roman occupation of the site of Norwich, our early documents may be held, I think, to prove the existence of a Roman road passing over the ground. The proof consists in the fact that the names of two of the earliest roadways, "Berstrete" and "Holmstrete," are formed with the Roman termination "strete," in marked contrast with the otherwise universal Danish termination "gate."⁷ The line thus indicated followed, as might be expected, the line of the ridge just mentioned, from Bracondale; crossed the present site of the Castle Hill to Tombland; and then was diverted towards the east, passing through the site of the Cathedral to the line of the lower part of Bishopgate Street, for the purpose of traversing the river by a ford, at what was afterwards Bishop's Bridge. That there may have been a small station somewhere on the site of the Castle Hill to protect the passage of the river, is more than probable. It is also likely that there was another branch of the road, diverging at Tombland, and crossing the river by a ford at Fye Bridge.

In confirmation of the existence of these roads, two interesting pieces of evidence may be adduced. The first of these is a statement made in Gough's edition of *Camden's*

⁶ *Streets and Lanes*, pp. 77 and 78.

⁷ *Ibm.*, p. 104.

Britannia (vol. ii., p. 107). He says, "The workmen, in sinking a well within the walls of the Castle [*i.e.*, at Norwich] about four or five years ago, when they came to the level of the ground without the ditches, found a regular and beaten foot-path used before the hill was thrown up." The well was doubtless that which was in use as long as the Castle was employed as a gaol, so the spot indicated is clear.⁸ In other respects—the exact depth, the direction of the road, and the material of which it was composed—the information is deficient, and it labours under the disadvantage of not being testified by a competent eye-witness. A most fortunate chance, however, has relieved it of this last defect, and thereby added greatly to its value. Among the "Fenn Collections" which have recently come into the possession of our Society by the gift of the family of the late Dr. Frere, Master of Downing College, Cambridge, is a copy of *Gough's Camden*, so far as it relates to Norfolk. This copy belonged to Sir John Fenn, who states that he has marked in it all the paragraphs which were *given by him* to Gough.⁹ The statement just mentioned is one of those marked. We may be fairly certain, then, that Sir John Fenn himself saw this interesting relic, and was satisfied that it had existed and been used "before the Castle Hill was thrown up." This raises a question of great difficulty. That the Castle Hill within the moat is artificial and not natural may be considered an ascertained fact, as proved by excavations made for the purpose while the keep was being cleared of its prison buildings. But when, and by whom, was it thrown up? Mr. Harrod (*Castles and Convents*, p. 144) thought that the outer earthworks and, therefore, the great mound were Celtic. The latest conclusion, after

⁸ The well was filled up at the recent alterations. It was a little to the south-west of the original well, which was then re-opened and is still to be seen in the basement of the Keep.

⁹ In 1782.

very full investigation,¹ is that such great artificial mounds were the work of early Teutonic invaders, that is, in this part of the country, of the Angle chieftains. If the Celtic origin of the mound be held, the "foot-path" must be carried back to the days of the Iceni. If the mound be assigned to the Angles, the "foot-path" would, without doubt, be Roman. It is a pity that Sir John Fenn used the indefinite expression "beaten." It seems almost impossible that soil buried at so considerable a depth for several centuries should have preserved the marks of having been trodden or hardened by traffic, so distinctly as to attract the attention of well-sinkers. He must surely have meant "paved," and if so, it can scarcely have been anything but the Roman way from Berstrete.

The other piece of evidence is of an exactly similar kind, and relates to the (suggested) branch of the road by Fye Bridge. About forty years ago, in the course of some alterations which were made at the premises of Messrs. Geldart, on the west side of Wensum Street, there was found a roadway paved with round cobble stones. It was at a depth of about 12 ft. below the level of the neighbouring road, and seemed to slope down towards the level of the bottom of the river. Such stones are found in the early round towers, and I cannot see what other explanation of the roadway can be given than that which was suggested at the time of its discovery, viz., that it led to a ford by which the river was crossed before the bridge was built. It was only about thirty yards distant from the river.²

¹ Especially by Mr. G. T. Clarke (*Mediæval Military Architecture in England*).

² My informant is Mr. Robert Geldart, who himself saw the road.

3.—THE TIMES OF THE ANGLES AND DANES.

Coming to the times of the Angle settlement, and including in it the subsequent invasion and settlement of the Danes, we arrive at the origin of the Norwich which has continued to the present day. Although, therefore, the first advent of the settlers was separated by some 400 years from the Domesday Survey, and by 150 more from the great bulk of our early information, still, considering that during that time the language—and to a great extent the institutions and customs of the inhabitants—were little changed, we may expect to find in our earliest documents many indications of still earlier times. Nor are we disappointed. If, with the help of these documents, we traced out a map of Norwich at the close of the thirteenth century, there would be quite sufficient evidence to be gathered from the topographical names and the directions of the streets, when compared with the consideration of the natural features already described, to enable us to follow out in imagination the growth of the borough. Here again I need not repeat what has already been presented to the members of this Society in Appendix 3, p. 104 of Kirkpatrick's *Streets and Lanes*. Suffice it to say that first on the meadow ground of Nether Conesford, and afterwards on the similar localities of Nether Westwyk, Coslany, Colgate, and Fishergate, the roving invaders laid the foundation of the future city.³ Ere long, spreading up

³ We have not evidence enough to distinguish much between the work of the Angles and the Danes. The name "Conesford" must have been given by Angles. "Westwyk" clearly implies that the more *easterly* district of Conesford had preceded it. The termination "wyk" in Westwyk is probably Danish, and its settlement therefore might not be so early as that of "Coselanye," a word of Saxon origin. Perhaps we may conjecture that Conesford was mainly the Angle settlement, but that some of their early settlers penetrated up the river, and planted themselves on the islands and adjoining banks at Coselany, the districts of Colgate and Nether

the rising ground, they became connected with the surrounding neighbourhood by the main roads, which exist to the present day. All these pre-Norman main streets had one common terminus, viz., Tombland. This fact not only has an important bearing on the topographical development of the rising burgh, but, viewed in connection with some other facts, gives us our first faint glimpse into what we may call its municipal organization. To see this more clearly, we must refer to the description of the city in *Domesday Book*.

The *Domesday* account of the city is given in full by Blomefield,⁴ and need not be repeated here. It consists, as must always be remembered, of two parts: an account of the city "in the time of King Edward"⁵ (the Confessor), say about 1060, and a further account of its condition "now," i.e., when the Survey was ordered by King William the Conqueror in 1086. It is with the first of these periods that we are now concerned. Blomefield carefully notices that the Survey describes the place in the days of King Edward as divided into three jurisdictions under three separate lordships. There were altogether 1320 burgesses, and they were divided in this manner: 1238 were under the joint jurisdiction of the King and the Earl, 50 were under the separate jurisdiction of the Bishop,⁶ and 32 under that of the Earl. Now, as Blomefield justly observes,⁷

Westwyk being not yet fit for permanent occupation. Afterwards the Danes, from the middle of the ninth century onwards, completed the settlement of the riverside districts as we find them in the days of the Confessor. In Woodward's conjectural map of "Northwic, A.D. 1050" (*Norwich Castle*, Appendix, Pl. IV.), he has incorrectly confined the pre-Norman settlement to one side of the river only.

⁴ Vol. ii. p. 7.

⁵ Expressed in the Survey by the letters "T. R. E."

⁶ We must remember that "the Bishop" at that time was the Bishop of Thetford, and that his part had nothing to do with the Cathedral, which was not founded till much later.

⁷ Page 12, note c.

there seems to be a distinction drawn between the "tota villa," which included all three lordships and the "burgus," of which he says "That part under the jurisdiction of the King and the Earl was called peculiarly the Burgh, it being the far greater part." I should rather suggest that it was so called because in it the burgesses specially enjoyed those privileges (whatever they were) which were included under that title. Historical students have not yet come to any conclusion as to the precise meaning of a "liber burgus" before the Norman Conquest, or for some time after it. Without entering upon this question, we can hardly be far wrong in saying that in Norwich it must have meant that, to some extent, the burgesses were free to manage their own internal affairs, such as questions about their lands, and houses, and trade disputes, debts and contracts, inheritance, and in general their local customs; and moreover, that in dealing with the King, or Earl, or Sheriff, and perhaps in their commercial relations with outsiders generally, they could act as one community. Probably these privileges were always rather shadowy, and depended on the good-will of the king for the time being. The burgesses would have the right of meeting and discussing, and deciding questions in dispute according to their own traditionally-received principles. But they would not have the presidency of their court; and whenever any pecuniary fines were inflicted on offenders, their lords, the king and earl, who held the "sac and soc," would take good care to claim them as part of their rights.

This freedom and unity, modified though it was, would require organization and periodical meetings. There can be little doubt that these meetings took place on Tombland, and that the memory of them was long perpetuated by the name which our earliest documents give to the church now and for many ages called St. Michael at Plea, but formerly called St. Michael de Motstowe, or "Place of Meeting." The

reasons why Tombland should have thus become the terminus of the streets on both sides of the river, and the meeting place of the men of the Burgh, have been explained in the *Streets and Lanes*.⁸ It was the point of junction between the districts of Conesford and Westwick and also, by the ford above-mentioned at Fye Bridge, between them and the district Over the Water.

Remembering the physical features already described, we may picture to ourselves what Tombland may have been, say about 980, in the time of King Alfred, when the Danes were fairly settled here. I would accept Mr. Rye's suggestion that the name means "vacant land."⁹ The Roman road, which I have assumed to have passed direct from Berstrete to Tombland, was no longer there. The great mound of the Castle Hill, with its moat, had been thrown up over it, and further south,¹ the surrounding earthworks had caused it to be diverted towards the west. These earthworks skirted Tombland on its southern side.² Outside of them, towards the north, stretched a large open space, perhaps a flat table-land, falling away on the west to the Great Cockey, on the north to the (Fye Bridge) ford, on the east (at some little distance inside what is now the Close) to the meadow or marsh of the Cowholm, across which Holmstrete

⁸ Page 105.

⁹ From Danish "tømmer," vacant (Rye: *History of Norfolk*, p. 6 n.) The other interpretations are "Tomb-land," from its being the site of the Cemetery of St. Michael's Church; "Town-land" (Kirkpatrick: *Streets and Lanes*, p. 63). The last sounds appropriate, but would rather apply to common pasture land outside the town, as was the land now called the Town Close. Tombland would originally be folk-land, and then part of the King's land. When Canute established the earldom of East Anglia he must have conferred it on the earl, who built his palace there. In 1096 Roger Bigod exchanged it with Bishop Herbert, who enclosed part in his monastic precinct. The most frequent form of the word in documents prior to the fifteenth century is "Tomland."

¹ By Golden Ball Street.

² From the Post Office to Bank Plain.

still ran in a direct line to the (Bishop's Bridge) ford. To this open space came, from the south, the main streets of Conesford; from the west those of Westwyk; from the north, over the ford, those of the district across the river. Here the burghers would hold their burgh-mote in the open air, and transact such business as was permitted them.

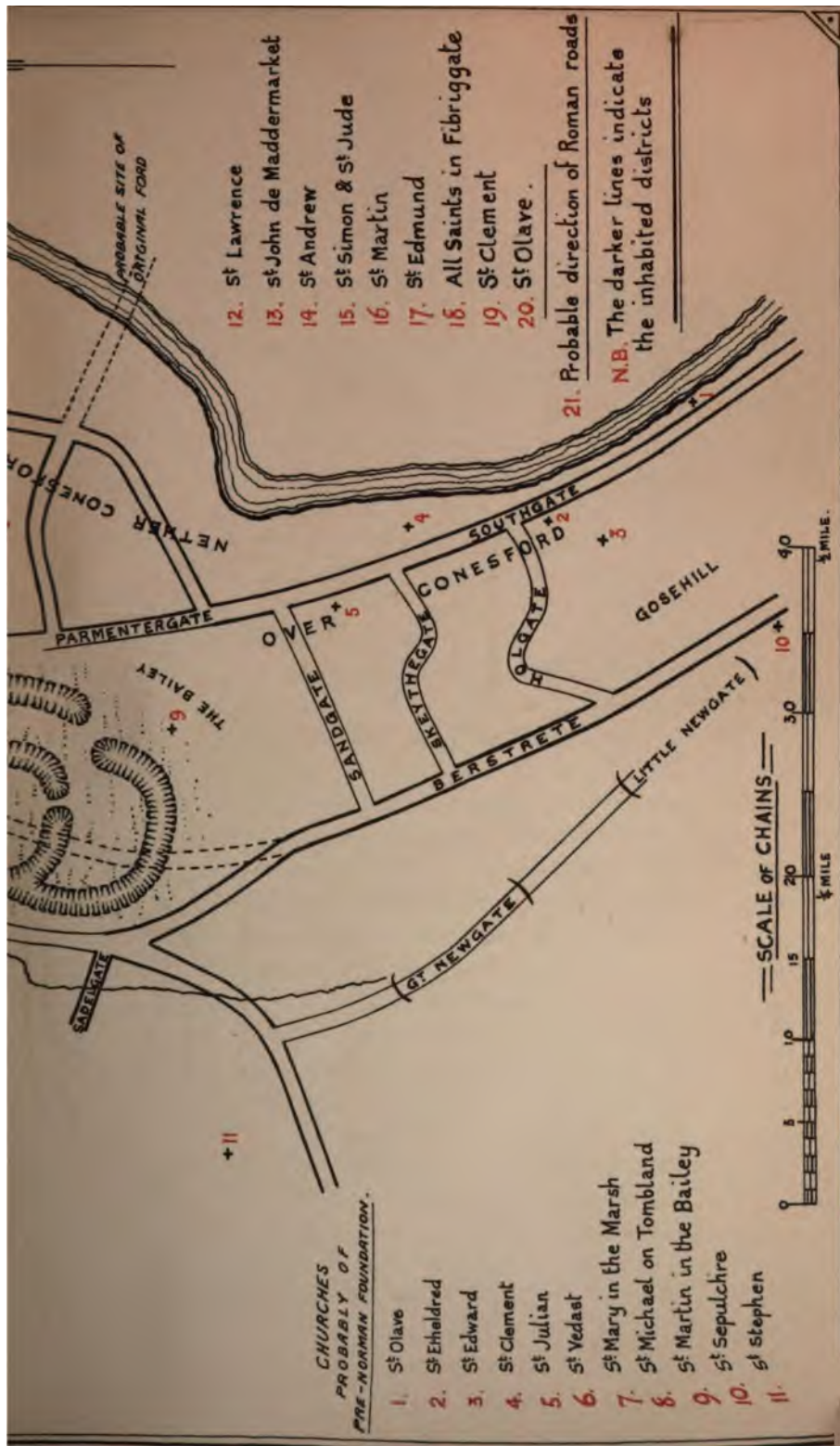
A further question arises: Was Tombland the site of the common market of the Saxon burgh? On this point our evidence is not at all conclusive. There is, however, one consideration which points that way. In Norman times the Prior of the Cathedral Monastery claimed and maintained the right to hold a weekly market there. Now we know that the Normans held that such a right could only be obtained by royal grant, and we are tolerably sure that from at least very soon after the Norman Conquest the Mancroft Market must have been established on its present site. The two were certainly antagonistic to each other. How then did they both come to exist? The most satisfactory explanation seems to be that the market in Mancroft arose from a royal grant probably at the time of the foundation of the New Burgh, while that on Tombland was the ancient market held by prescriptive right which passed successively through the hands of the King, the Earl, the Bishop, and the Prior. This would also account for the famous Tombland Fairs which formerly belonged to the Prior.³ It may be that the "Cueria" or Cook Row (Wensum Street, between Tombland and the river) was a relic of a common market on Tombland. It certainly seems quite separated from anything else of its kind, when we find it on that spot in the thirteenth century.

³ The disputes between the monks and the citizens about Tombland were finally settled by the award of Cardinal Wolsey in the time of King Henry VIII., when the monks resigned all rights outside the monastery walls. The citizens thus became lords of the fairs and of the market, if it still existed.

CONJECTURAL MAP OF NORWICH

IN THE TIME OF
KING EDWARD THE CONFESSOR
c.1060.





4.—EXTENT OF THE CITY IN THE TIME OF KING EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

On this point Blomefield, p. 10, makes a statement which hardly seems capable of proof. "Such," he says "was the magnitude of Norwich near 700 years ago [now more than 800], being then a Hundred by itself, containing 883 acres of land and meadow, with a sheep's walk within its jurisdiction, so that it seems to have extended then about a mile beyond the present walls: but it did not continue long in this state, but daily increased in the peaceable reign of this king as well as in the short one of his successor, King Harold, &c." This does not appear a very probable reality on the face of it. The circuit of the city, as Blomefield knew it, was formed in 1253, and he must, therefore, have supposed that its size had then decreased considerably from what it had been at the time of the Norman Conquest. Yet, in spite of Earl Ralph's rebellion and the Conqueror's hard treatment, it had 1361 burgesses in Stephen's reign, and increased in prosperity greatly during that century and the next. An examination of Blomefield's figures shews that he arrives at his "883 acres" on very insufficient evidence, by including every possible item, and assuming that they were all within the "Hundred of Norwich." But there are some difficulties which he passes over. It does not seem certain that some of the land of the burgesses is not mentioned twice over, or that the eighty acres said to be held by them in King Edward's time may not be the same as the eighty acres held by them in the Conqueror's time, and described as in the Hundred of Humbleyard. These latter were held in King Edward's time, and should be included somewhere. Again, there are some difficulties of translation. For instance, he translates "*ij acras prati que jacebant ad ecclesiam Omnium Sanctorum*," "two acres of

meadow which did *belong to* the church of All Saints"; yet in a note he says "I take this to mean All Saints in Fybrigge Street, which *stood by* meadow ground; and not All Saints in Ber Street, which could have none near it," as though he thought "*jacebant ad*" really meant "*adjoined*." If we take it strictly so, it raises a great difficulty in another case. Of the church of St. Michael on Tombland it is said "*cui adiacent cxii Acre terre et vi prati et i Carucata*," which Blomefield translates, "to which there *belong* 112 acres of land and six of meadow and (these are, or were accounted for) one carucate."⁴ Now, according to the *Area* book of the Ordnance Survey, the combined area of St. Mary in the Marsh (the Cathedral Close), St. Helen, St. Martin at Palace, St. Simon and St. Jude, St. Peter Hungate, St. Michael at Plea, St. George Tombland, and a quarter of St. Peter Permountergate, that is, the whole of this portion of Norwich, would only make up that amount. Moreover, twelve acres belonging to St. Martin have just before been separately mentioned. It is unsafe, therefore, to assume that all this land was actually within the bounds of the borough of Norwich. The whole area included within the circuit of the walls in the thirteenth century did not contain 600 acres.

There is in existence a very valuable document, which may help us to get a clearer understanding of the probable extent of the city at this time. It is called "*Historia Foundationis Ecclesie Cathedralis Norwicensis*." It is printed in full in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, iv. 14, from a copy found at the foot of the Chartulary of Binham Priory. It is also copied in full in the *Guildhall Book of Pleas*.⁵ It is not exactly what it is

⁴ St. Michael's Church had "1 carucate of land" in Taverham village. May not this be it? See *Bl.* ii. 570.

⁵ Fol. 59.

called. It contains a statement of the rights of the monks as against the citizens, and must have been compiled as late as the reign of Richard II., because it makes mention of the earlier Richard as "Richard I." This is more than 120 years after 1253, but such matters as are complained of would be easily remembered for that time. The monks complain that when the citizens obtained leave in 1253 to enclose the city with a bank and ditch, they "could not do so without prejudice of others, by enclosing lands of other fees and other franchises, and *lying in divers hundreds*," &c. The whole passage is printed in *Streets and Lanes*, p. 111. There is here a distinct statement that certain parts within the walls (which were built on the bank) were, prior to 1253, reckoned as belonging to other Hundreds than the Hundred of Norwich. If this is correct, we must suppose they did not belong to the Hundred of Norwich in the time of King Edward the Confessor, and, therefore, formed no part of the burgh. Let us, so far as we can, subtract them, and see what result is arrived at.

The parts specified by the monks are eight. 1—The Cowholm and the land of St. Michael (*i.e.*, speaking generally, the Cathedral precinct). These, they say, were in the Hundred of Blofield. Blomefield also states, p. 330, "that before Bishop Herbert's time the Cowholm was in the parish of Thorpe and the Deanery of Blofield. 2—The land of Normannesland in the Hundred of Taverham. This was the parish of St. Paul. Blomefield, p. 799, says it was originally part of Thorpe and in the Hundred of Blofield, which seems more likely. 3—The land of Thedwardescroft or Great Newgate,⁶ which they affirmed had previously formed part of the manor of Lakenham in the Hundred of Humbleyard. This is now Surrey Street, formerly called the street of Great

⁶ *Streets and Lanes*, p. 16.

Newgate. These three portions had all, so the monks contended, been up to that time within the jurisdiction of the Prior and Convent.

Then they come to 4—Gosehill, an old name for the steep hill side between Berstreet and Conesford Street, towards their southern end also called Boteler's Hills.⁷ This pertained to the Prioress of Carrow, and to the Hundred of Humbleyard. 5—The "aforesaid precinct of Neugate." This seems to be a slight confusion, not meaning Great Newgate, as above, but Little Newgate, afterwards St. Catherine's Close,⁸ which, like the last, was in the jurisdiction of the Prioress of Carrow, and presumably also in the Hundred of Humbleyard. 6—The croft of St. Mary in the Fields, that is, Chapel Field, extending then nearly from Nedham or St. Stephen's Street to St. Giles' Street. They do not specify in what jurisdiction or hundred this had been before the establishment of the College of St. Mary in the Fields, which took place shortly before this enclosure. Doubtless, like the adjoining parish of Heigham, it also was in the Hundred of Humbleyard. 7—The croft of St. Augustine, also called Gildencroft, which covered a large district at the north-west of the city between St. Martin's and St. Augustine's Gates.⁹ Here they say the Bailiffs of the Hundred of Taverham were wont to hold their courts at the time of this protest. As this was originally the demesne land of the Manor of Tokethorp, which in the Conqueror's time went with Cossey, it must almost certainly have been outside Norwich. 8—Lastly, they say, "the commons of Norwich . . . enclosed with ditches, other lands as far as the gates of Fybrigge [Magdalen Street Gates] and they made ditches over the land of the Prior of Norwich, from the aforesaid gates of Fybrigge as far as Barregates, out of those portions of lands which before

⁷ *Streets and Lanes*, p. 11.

⁸ *Blomefield*, p. 589.

⁹ *Streets and Lanes*, p. 81.

the fifth year of King Richard the first were privileged and endowed with divers franchises, and *entirely separated from the aforesaid town of Norwich*, and given in pure and perpetual alms to the church of the Holy Trinity," &c.

Such is the contention of the monks. It is plain that the details must not be pressed too closely. The monks were not claiming, either for themselves or others, the recovery of definitely specified lands. They were only making a general complaint of the way in which they and others had been robbed one hundred years before. From this general point of view we may take their statement as substantially correct, viz., that the various suburban districts here mentioned were not included in the Hundred of Norwich (which was conterminous with the "villa") prior to 1253. They could hardly, therefore, have been part of the Hundred in Edward the Confessor's time, even though some of them may have been under the control of the burgesses, either publicly or privately.

These facts may help us to construct an imaginary map of Norwich at that period; and there are two other considerations which may assist us in realizing its extent and condition. Firstly, *Domesday* mentions at least twenty-four parochial churches as existing in the time of the Confessor. It is unfortunate that the names of only a few are given. The dedications of some others plainly indicate a pre-Norman origin, and Blomefield (on what authority I know not) assigns such an antiquity to several. The localities of those that are known furnish a sure foundation of evidence. Secondly, there is the evidence to be derived from the names of the streets. Here, however, caution is necessary. We must not assume that every street and lane called a "gate" originated in Danish times. We do not know to how late a date it may have continued to be the practice to give this termination even to a new street. For instance, in the plea argued

in 1291, between the citizens and the monks, with regard to jurisdiction in Newgate, the whole question turned upon the point whether what was then called Newgate¹ was the same as had been granted to the monks by Hen. II. more than one hundred years before, under the name of Thedwardescroft. It was admitted that it was so. From this it would seem to follow that the name Newgate had been given to the street (or the street may have been made) after the middle of the twelfth century. Again, the names Newbriggate and Fibriggate must have been given after the bridges were made. It is possible that Fye Bridge may have been made before the Conquest, but in the case of Newbrigge it is unlikely that a bridge should have been made so early at a spot where the surrounding streets show no indication of leading up to it as they do at Fye Bridge.

Although, therefore, we may believe that most of the "gates" were pre-Norman, we must not take it for granted without some collateral evidence.

Bearing this fact in mind we may begin our survey with the district of Conesford. Here the Church dedicated to the Danish King, St. Olaf, near the Carrow end of King Street, may be taken as evidence that in Danish times the town extended so far to the south in the line of Conesford Street, while to the north the churches of St. Vedast² and St. Mary in the Marsh³ were probably also in existence in those early times. Between these two limits the riverside must have been thickly populated. Similarly in Ber Street, the Church of St. Sepulchre at its southern end being mentioned in the time of William the Conqueror shows that the population had spread so far along that line. On

¹ *Streets and Lanes*, p. 16.

² *Blomefield*, ii. p. 8, n. g; *Norfolk Archaeology*, x. p. 135.

³ *Dugdale's Monasticon*, iv. p. 13, "quæ multo tempore ante Conquestum fuit fundata."

the west side of Conesford Street and on both sides of Ber Street, judging by the position of the various churches, the population formed a fringe, leaving the intervening ground, especially towards the south, comparatively unoccupied. The inhabitants may also have fringed the southern circuit of the castle earthworks in the neighbourhood of St. Martin in the Bailey (which, however, would not form part of the "burgh" in its restricted sense), St. John Timberhill, and All Saints; and if Blomefield is right in saying that the Church of St. Stephen was "founded before the Conquest," they may have begun to settle along the line of Nedham Street. But here again the statement of the monks shews that the lands between Ber Street and Nedham Street, "Thedwardescroft" and the "precinct of Newgate," were in that early time no part of the burgh, and perhaps scarcely occupied. We may safely assert the same of the whole district round the west of the castle from Nedham Street to Newport or St. Giles and even as far as Pottergate Street. Both St. Peter Mancroft and St. Giles were founded after the Norman Conquest for the inhabitants of the new burgh, which was then added to the old burgh. It is clear, therefore, that the "burgus" in the Confessor's time did not include this district.

The riverside districts of Westwick and Wymer present the same general features as those of Conesford. There is the same abundance of early churches and the same occurrence of the Danish termination "gate." Blomefield's account, p. 671, of the foundation of the Church of St. Lawrence is, no doubt, correct. It is mentioned by name in *Domesday* (T. R. E.). In my opinion, however, he has unduly exaggerated the importance of the locality at that time. Bishop Alfric's donation of the ground calls it a "Hage" [enclosed field].⁴ Because of a reserved rent of a last of herrings charged upon it Blomefield calls it a

⁴ *Blomefield*, p. 326.

"quay," and announces that, before Yarmouth supplanted Norwich as a fishing town, this spot was "the very key or landing place for all the herrings brought hither." This statement has of course been repeated ever since as authentic history. But even allowing that there was a landing place here, it seems most unlikely that it should have been the principal one. In documentary times the great Staithe or Quay was evidently just below Fye Bridge, called in the thirteenth century "*Caum de Fibrigge*," and at the present time "Quay Side." If the common market was on Tombland this would be the natural landing place, and the situation of the Cook Row would be just what might be expected. Moreover, opposite to this quay was "Fishergate." Besides St. Lawrence, the churches of St. Martin and SS. Simon and Jude are mentioned as in existence, but in the hands of the Bishop. While, therefore, the whole riverside, from St. Benedict's to St. Martin's, was thickly populated, the "burgus" only included as far as St. Peter Hungate. Tombland, and St. Michael's Church there, must at this time have been in the hands of the Earl of the East Angles. The site of St. Helen's and the Great Hospital, if dry enough to be occupied, which is doubtful, would, like the Cowholm on the other side of Holmstrete, belong to Thorpe and the Hundred of Blofield. On the other side of this main riverside thoroughfare Blomefield, p. 9, note ², thinks that the "Church of the Holy Trinity," mentioned in the time of King Edward, means "St. John Maddermarket." However this may be, the name "Pottergate" sufficiently shows that the Danish settlement had spread from the river to the line of that street. Beyond this we enter upon the "New Burgh." The names of several streets on this side of Pottergate and under the Castle enclosure, as "Stongate," "Hosyergate," "Sadelgate," might imply that the outskirts of the "New Burgh" district were being settled before it was formed, or that at

the time of its formation the Danish "gate" had not gone out of use. Such population as there was, would in any case only form a fringe.

Passing now to the northern portion of the city, we have again no difficulty in tracing the riverside settlement. "Fishergate," "Fibriggate," "Colgate," "Coselanye," all betoken their pre-Norman origin. The question is, how far away from the river had the town extended in the Confessor's time? On the line of Coslany (or St. Martin's) Street, the district a little inside St. Martin's Gates, is called in early documents "Tothyll,"⁵ meaning a "hill of observation." It is reasonable to suppose that this marked the extremity of the settlement in that direction. There are, however, no "gates" issuing out of Coslany Street beyond "Muspogate," running past St. Mary's Church to St. George Colegate. In Pitt Street (formerly St. Olave's Street)⁶ the Danish dedication to St. Olaf must be held to prove their settlement as far as that point. Whether as far as St. Augustine's is doubtful. Beyond that is the great extent of the Gildencroft, which we must certainly conclude to have been in Taverham and unoccupied. A little beyond this eastward, in what is now Middle Street, we come to the name "Merholt," already referred to. I have suggested in *Streets and Lanes*, p. 78, that this meant "boundary wood," and perhaps marked the boundary of the three Hundreds of Taverham, Blofield, and Norwich. Not very far off we reach St. Botolph's Church, where St. Botolph's Street diverges from Magdalen Street. Many churches dedicated to this Saint stand by the gates of towns. I should be inclined to think that it might once have been so here, were it not for the church of All Saints in Fibriggate. Blomefield's identification of this with the church of All Saints mentioned in *Domesday*

⁵ *Streets and Lanes*, p. 72.

⁶ *Ibm.*, p. 77.

(T.R.E.) has much in its favour, especially as it stood on a "gate," Cowgate. If it be accepted, we must suppose that by the Confessor's time the population had begun to spread outwards, in the direction of Fibrigate. On either side of the street towards its further end, the lands, according to the Monks, were not included in the Hundred of Norwich till 1253. To the east of Fibrigate we must certainly exclude the parishes of St. Paul and St. James, both of which Blomefield says were, until the Conquest, part of Thorpe.

It remains only to ask, where were Bishop Stigand's fifty burgesses and Earl Harold's thirty-two? The bishop's, we may take for granted, were in St. Martin at Palace and SS. Simon and Jude. Earl Harold's thirty-two are not so easy to assign. Blomefield thinks that the earl's land was "St. Stephen's, afterwards called Nedham, from the needy and sick belonging to the castle dwelling there." This explanation is mere guesswork. I see no reason why the earl's burgesses should not have resided in the Castle Bailey, which seems to have occupied a peculiar position. St. Martin in the Bailey passed for a parochial church, and in the thirteenth century the inhabitants were under the jurisdiction of the city authorities. At an earlier time, however, the Bailey must have been more strictly connected with the Castle, as Blomefield states that it was, in speaking of that church.

We are now in a fair position to picture to ourselves, so far as evidence is forthcoming, the geographical extent of Norwich in the time of King Edward the Confessor. Its most striking feature was the great mound of the Castle, surmounted by a stockade and a wooden fort, surrounded by its deep moat, and encircled on the south, east, and north, by far extending earthworks. On the west, perhaps, the outer bank of the moat sloped down to the cockey.

Towards the north-east the earthworks abutted on the Palace of the Earl of East Anglia and the open space of Tombland, on which might, as I think, have been seen, at least weekly, the inhabitants and the people of the surrounding country congregating in a common market, and from time to time the "burgesses" meeting, to discuss such matters of internal control as lay within their rights. Beyond that stretched out the broad expanse of the Cowholm meadow.⁷ If we imagine ourselves standing on the castle mound, and looking down the river from the spot just mentioned, we should see the long line of Conesford Street thickly occupied with houses, and amongst them, here and there, the scarcely higher roof and tower of a small church. Turning more round to the south, just over the earthworks, along what is now the top of the Cattle Market, would be the houses of Earl Harold's burgesses, and then on the high ridge of Ber Street another double line of houses, stretching out towards the country beyond. Hence, as the eye swept round over what was ere long to become the most thickly populated portion of the city, St. Stephen and St. Peter Mancroft, we should then have seen little more than comparatively few houses, spreading westwards by All Saints and St. Stephen's. Below, under the west side of the Castle, flowed the stream of the cockey, and beyond it was little but open fields. When, however, the spectator reached the north-western and northern sides of the castle, he would again find himself surveying a densely-peopled district. Almost from Heigham, eastwards, he would see the low-lying borders of the river marked on both sides by signs of a crowded population, in the districts of Westwyk on one side, and Coselany, Colgate, and Fishergate on the other. As the

⁷ The name "Cowholm" does not seem to have included the Hospital meadows. But for convenience it may be so taken.

ground rose beyond these last, the signs of population would rapidly decrease, and soon die away, except just on the line of Fibriggate, where the inhabitants were beginning to push out into the country. So he would come round once more to Tombland, where the last houses he would survey between Tombland and the river, in St. Simon and St. Jude and St. Martin, would be those in which the burgesses were under the jurisdiction of Bishop Stigand.

The closeness with which the inhabitants must have been crowded together in the riverside districts, may be estimated from considering the number of burgesses. There were, as we have seen, 1238 burgesses in that part of the villa "which was under the jurisdiction of the King and Earl," and which was specially called the "burgus." We have also seen that, with the exception of Ber Street, they lay almost exclusively in the riverside districts described above. It is true we do not know exactly what constituted a "burgess" at that time. In the thirteenth century it meant a man who had paid a fee to be enrolled among the number, and who was either a householder at the time, or else was obliged to set up a house and stock it with his goods within a year, in order that if he fell into default in sharing any common obligation, his fellow burgesses might have something to distrain upon. If, as must have been the case, the burgesses in the Confessor's time were banded together both in the enjoyment of privileges and the bearing of common burdens, it follows that some such security must have been exacted by the common body from each of its members. If, then, each of the 1238 burgesses was the head of a household, we should, allowing an average of five to a house, arrive at a population of 6390. That is, probably, a low average for a household, when dependents of various kinds so often lived with their masters. Then

there must have been many humbler inhabitants who were not burgesses. Twenty years later or so, when the Survey was actually made in the time of King William, and when, in consequence of Earl Ralph's rebellion, the town was very depressed, and only 665 out of the 1238 burgesses remained in it; there were 400 *bordarii* (or cottagers, as they are thought to have been). As Blomefield observes,⁸ "though not named, doubtless there were many of these in the city in King Edward's days." These and their families may have made 1000 more. Then there was always a large number of strangers who were either sojourners engaged in temporary business or trade, or else had not yet decided to stay and throw in their lot with the other burgesses. In Norman times there would have to be added a considerable number of religious persons, who did not count as burgesses or citizens. But, perhaps, in King Edward's time they were not yet so numerous, for I do not know of any religious institution here founded before the time of Bishop Herbert. Altogether we can hardly reckon the population in Conesford, Westwick, and the riverside districts over the water, at less than 8000 or 9000.

On one matter of interest connected with this subject, there is unfortunately no evidence to guide us. How were the boundaries of the burgh marked off from the surrounding country? This, of course, might have been described by imaginary lines between certain fixed points. But was the circuit wholly undefended? The question concerns our ideas of Norwich, not only in the time of Edward the Confessor, but through all the intervening period till the bank and ditch were made in 1253. Certainly the statement of the cathedral monks, quoted above, would give the impression that the circuit of the city before that time was very undefined, and therefore

⁸ P. 12, n. u.

undefended. Blomefield, writing about the Leet of Great Newgate in 1304, has a note,⁹ "It is said the jurisdiction of the leet extended to Stump Cross,¹ and that part was not then walled, *but laid open*." If this is quoted from the royal grant made at that date, it must surely have been an expression recited from an earlier plea, for this was fifty years after the foss was made. But it implies that the land before that time had lain open to the country beyond. It seems, however, impossible to imagine a "burgus" without some sort of defensive stockade, otherwise the inhabitants could hardly carry out the Conqueror's injunction, that in every burgh watch and ward should be duly kept. Whatever there was, it certainly was of very little value as a barrier against an attacking foe. In 1174 the Flemings sacked the place. No hint is given of any attempt at resistance. "Flandrenses," says Matthew Paris,² "Norwicum invadentes ceperunt." They marched in and took it. The castle might defend itself, the city had no means of doing so.

5.—NORWICH AFTER THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

The Norman Conquest, and the events which immediately succeeded it within the space of the next thirty years, were of momentous consequence in the history and subsequent development of the city.

In the first place the Conquest led at once to an important addition to the city in the formation of the new burgh. The account of its establishment is given in *Domesday*, and quoted in full by Blomefield. There are one or two points which seem to require a little

⁹ P. 30, n. z.

¹ See *Streets and Lanes*, p. 16, n. 8.

² Vol. ii. p. 292.

explanation. Blomefield³ thinks it had been "made in the Confessor's time, though there might not be such a number of burgesses, &c." He founds this, I suppose, on the fact that the Survey speaks of a time when there were "thirty-six French burgesses," whereas "now" (at the date of the Survey), "there are forty-one, &c." Elsewhere this earlier date would of course mean the time of Edward the Confessor, but here it cannot mean that time, for it is distinctly stated that the new burgh was granted to the king by Earl Ralph, who was appointed by the Conqueror, and whose tenancy terminated with his rebellion in 1075, eleven years before the Survey. The "thirty-six French burgesses" were no doubt Norman adventurers who settled here very soon after the Conquest. By the time of the Survey the number had increased to forty-one, besides eighty-one others in the same quarter, and one "mansura vasta."

This great increase in the new burgh is worthy of special notice, because it is in marked contrast with the state of the rest of the city. The result of Earl Ralph's rebellion was most calamitous, as Blomefield describes, and as the Survey itself bears witness. The 1238 burgesses in the "burgh" had dwindled down to 665; of Stigand's fifty only thirty-eight, and of Harold's thirty-two only fifteen were left. In the old "burgh" 190 "mansure" were waste. Yet by the side of this devastation the "new burgh" had more than doubled. The inference is plain. It was occupied by the friends of the Conqueror. The Survey speaks of it as "*omnes terre iste tam militum quam burgensium*." The word "*milites*" has not been used before, and must, I think, refer to the "Franci." They were Normans of knightly rank.

Besides that these Norman burghers would, under the

³ P. 14, n. b.

circumstances, enjoy a social distinction altogether out of proportion to their numbers, it is probable that at first they had a separate organization of their own. Except that, like the other burgesses, they were under the general jurisdiction of the king and earl, they would enjoy their own customs and have their own court. So much must be intended by the term "*novus burghus*," which plainly describes something distinct from the existing burgh. The analogous case of Nottingham may be cited in illustration. In Nottingham there were two distinct boroughs, the English borough and the French borough; and so long after the Conquest as 1284, when King Edward I. granted the inhabitants a mayor, he was to be chosen by "the burgesses of both boroughs." He was to be set over the "bailiffs" who had ruled the town before, and of them it is said that the burgesses "shall elect one bailiff of one borough and another bailiff of the other borough, on account of the diversity of customs existing in the said boroughs, who shall execute those things which pertain to their office."⁴ The last expression would include acting as presidents of their respective courts. The assumption that the new burgh had originally a distinct organization from the old burgh is not invalidated by the fact that no trace of any such distinction is to be found when our earliest records begin. The Norman element may have been too small to perpetuate its distinctiveness. The population which grew up round the market must have been almost exclusively English, and at no time would there have been much opposition to the obviously advantageous step of reducing the whole city under one organization.

I have already stated that it is likely that the settlement of the Normans in the new burgh led to the foundation of

⁴ *Records of the Borough of Nottingham*, i. p. 59.

the market in that district.⁵ This would give an impetus to its development, and the next great event in the history of the city would tend in the same direction. In 1096 Bishop Herbert founded his monastery and commenced the building of the cathedral. He had the cordial support of Roger Bigot, who was then earl. After purchasing the Cowholm, he wanted more convenient access to it from the city. He therefore effected an exchange with the earl, giving him some of his paternal lands at Syleham in Suffolk, and obtaining from him the site of the earl's palace, the church of St. Michael, and the land of St. Michael or "Tomlonde." The church and palace he demolished; part of the land he enclosed, and over the rest of Tomblond the Priors claimed rights, which were a never-ceasing source of ill-feeling between the monks and the citizens.

The point to which I wish to draw attention is this, the adverse influence which this step would exercise upon the district of Conesford. Originally that district had been the first to be settled, and naturally would seem to have been the most advantageously situated for trade in goods arriving by the river. Certainly the inhabitants of the castle and the earl's palace would most conveniently obtain their supplies from that quarter. From other parts of the city, however, it was from the first somewhat

* Mr. Gurdon, in his *Essay on the Antiquity of Norwich Castle*, uses similar language of the "borough of the castel," and adds, "from whence arose the first market of Norwich." The theory, however, which he founds on this view as to the origin and growth of the city seems to me wholly contrary to facts. He thinks that, as elsewhere, there was at first a castle, then a market at the castle gate, then traders settled in "houses of duration" round it. This grew into a village, then into a town, then under the control of the castellan and orderly regulations into a borough. Had this been the history of Norwich, it must have shewn itself by the Saxon streets converging to the present market, which they did not; and by the earliest population being settled there, which was not the case.

isolated, and this isolation was greatly intensified when the monastic precinct was enclosed, the earl's palace removed, and the castle obtained its supplies from the Mancroft Market. Everything tended to draw the traffic further up the river. The development of the new burgh detracted from the importance of Conesford, and largely increased the value of the riverside of Wymer and Westwick. By the thirteenth century this relative prosperity had been firmly established, and remained constant for many centuries. The number of persons amerced for breaking the Assize of Ale in each of the four Leets in 1288, may be taken as fairly representing their relative population at the time. They are, Conesford, 57; Mancroft, 84; Wymer, 81; Over-the-Water, 64. So in 1415 the 60 common councillors are thus distributed:—Mancroft, 16; Wymer, 20; Conesford and Over-the-Water, 12 each.

One relic of the earlier commercial importance of Conesford, I believe, still survived in name till the times of documentary evidence. Among the purprestures presented to the Itinerant Justices in the thirteenth century, was always one said to have been made by the Prior, "from Bishop's Bridge to Luvelstathe." This stathe, which was a little above the present Foundry Bridge, marked the southern limit of the Prior's Fee along the river bank. It was so called from a certain Roger Lovel who owned it in the earlier part of the century. By the close of that century it had quite ceased to be used. In the Conveyance Rolls of that time a lane leading down to the river there is mentioned, but no stathe. It seems to have belonged altogether to an earlier period, and to a condition of mercantile requirement which had long deserted the locality.

6.—THE TWELFTH CENTURY. MUNICIPAL CONSOLIDATION.

After the comparatively clear light which is thrown upon the progress of the city by the *Domesday Survey*, and the important changes which followed the Conquest, we are left once more in darkness. Our local records scarcely contain any information which we can with any certainty assign to the twelfth century. It is true that as the close of the century approaches we begin to obtain definite evidence of the political privileges and municipal organization of the borough; and in this I think our existing records enable us to trace a good deal more than the mere recital of the charters given by Blomefield would lead us to understand. But this branch of my subject is a very large one, and deserves separate treatment. It is all the more worthy of special study because modern students have begun to discover that royal charters are not to be taken for local history. The same charter was often granted in the same, or nearly the same, terms to two or three different towns, and yet, where local records enable us to learn anything about local practice, we find that the practice by no means corresponded with the charter. The charters in fact were valued as useful authorities to be produced when rights or privileges were called in question, but they were not hard and fast regulations for local practice, and still less for local organization. I must therefore leave this matter for some future occasion.

Meanwhile I may mention one change of no very great importance in itself, but indicative perhaps of substantial progress during this period. Two of the churches in Conesford Street, both dedicated to St. Peter, were distinguished by the names of "St. Peter de Suthgate" and

"St. Peter de Parmentergate."⁶ Kirkpatrick, commenting on this fact, takes for granted that the lower or southern part of the street had formerly been called "Southgate," *i.e.*, South Street, and that the upper or northern end had been called "Parmentergate," or Parmenter Street. On the meaning of the word "parmenter" I will make some observations presently. That the two ends of the street were thus called appears to be a necessary deduction from the names of the churches, but the question is, when were the two names in use, and when and why was the change made into one name? The Danish termination of the two names would indicate that they were given before the Norman Conquest, and of course they might have continued in use some time afterwards. Blomefield says that the church of St. Peter Permouthergate was founded by Roger Bigot (say about 1100). We must suppose, then, that the two names were in use at that time. When, however, we come to existing deeds in the thirteenth century we never find the street called by these two names, but always by the one name Conesford. In whatever part of the street a house or piece of land might be it is never described as "in vico de Parmentergate," or "in vico de Suthgate," but "in vico de Conesford." The use of the one name, therefore, may have been well established by the end of the twelfth century. We can hardly fail to connect the change with the greater consolidation of the whole district. The name "Conesford" had in the course of many generations spread from the ford to which it originally applied along the riverside district towards the south; but it was no more than an indefinite name. As, however, the organization of the town became more developed, the old geographical names became the names of municipal divisions, of which in the thirteenth century there were four, Conesford, Mancroft, Wymer or Westwyk,

⁶ *Streets and Lanes*, p. 3.

and Over-the-Water. We have at present no knowledge of the precise time when this fourfold division was first organized. The use of two names for the two parts of the main street of Conesford in the early part of the twelfth century would furnish an argument against its having been done at that time.

Some further arguments seem also to point in the same direction in the case of the other three divisions. Mancroft always stands second in order of precedence. This implies that Mancroft had already grown into sufficient importance to equal the other three. We must remember, too, that "Mancroft" could hardly have been the original name of the district. Its principal street was called the street of "Newport," which is nothing else than the English form of "Novus Burgus" or new burgh.⁷ Before the district could have come to be called Mancroft, time enough must have elapsed for the name "Mancroft" to supplant that of "Newport." This could only have been effected by the rise of a population round the market, which could hardly have been till some way into the twelfth century. A statement in *Blomefield*⁸ perhaps adds some further evidence on this point. King Stephen, he says, in the beginning of his reign granted to his son William "the *town* and *borough* of the city of Norwich, in which there were 1238 burgesses that held of the king in burgage tenure, and also the *castle* and *burgh* thereof, in which there were 123 burgesses that held of the king in burgage, &c." This is a remarkable statement. The 1238 burgesses correspond exactly with the number in the "burgh" of the town in the days of King Edward the Confessor, while the 123 equally correspond with the number in the "new burgh" at the time of the Survey. The authorities quoted by Blomefield do not mention these numbers, but he appears to be citing the original document.

⁷ *Streets and Lanes*, p. 22.

⁸ *Blomefield*, ii. p. 17.

If so, the numbers and tenements chargeable were evidently enrolled for fiscal purposes, and in the former case the same list had been retained for eighty years. It appears, moreover, that at this date (1140) the new burgh was still treated as a distinct organization, being called the "burgh of the castle," as distinguished from the "burgh of the town." Mancroft, therefore, could not have taken its place amongst the four municipal divisions till after that time.

So with the third division, called in the thirteenth century Wymer or Westwyk. The name Wymer is supposed by Blomefield⁹ to be derived from a man of that name mentioned in *Domesday*. The district so called was originally that near St. Andrew's Church. It would certainly take some time for a new name to supplant throughout a large district one like Westwyk, which had been associated with another part of it for several centuries.

Lastly, the name of the fourth division, Over-the-Water, is significant. It may, of course, be a relic of the time when there were no bridges, and when the river was a real barrier between the inhabitants on one side and the other. But it looks rather more like a somewhat contemptuous description of a remote portion of the community, invented at a time when the market and its neighbourhood had already become the heart and centre of the city.

Putting together, therefore, these various considerations, we may conclude that towards the close of the twelfth century was developed the fourfold division of the city for municipal purposes which is found in existence in the thirteenth century. What these purposes were belongs rather to the history of municipal institutions, which cannot be dealt with here.

⁹ P. 14, n. 6.

7.—THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. COMMERCIAL CHANGES.

When we have entered into the thirteenth century, and especially as we more nearly approach the date of our existing records, we obtain, as we might expect, much indirect evidence of things which had existed in times that had not long passed away. A survey of the thirteenth century records with this object in view might lead to the recovery of much interesting information. I will first mention one or two inferences which have suggested themselves to me as arising out of certain names, which had even then lost their original appropriateness.

We will take one of the names just referred to, Parmenter-gate. Towards the latter part of the thirteenth century not only was the district not called by this name, but as a matter of fact there were no parmenters there. Instead of them there were a large number of tanners. Nearly all the ground between the streets of Over and Nether Conesford, as well as the ground to the north of what is now called Rose Lane, was held by tanners. Two cockeys or streams supplied them with water.¹ To understand the significance of this change we must decide what was meant by a "parmenter." The ordinary interpretation is a "tailor." But reasons are given in *Streets and Lanes*, page 41, for believing that in Norwich a parmenter was certainly engaged in the same trade as a "pelliparius," or skinner. The two words are interchanged. If this be admitted, we have an interesting glimpse into the city trade, the first which has come down to us. The word in itself is explained to mean "one who prepares." If a parmenter was a tailor, the material he dealt with would be cloth: but if he was a skinner then

¹ *Streets and Lanes*, p. 100.

the material he worked upon would be leather. Now the parmenters' trade had not altogether died out in Norwich even at the end of the thirteenth century. The name "le parmenter" is occasionally met with, and one row in the market was called "Parmenter-rowe." But in Conesford they had been entirely supplanted by the tanners. In this connection another fact may be noticed. Among these tanners were Gervase Kempe de Irstede, Nicholas Godwyne de Irstede, William de Irstede, John de Hakeford, Stephen de Poswyk, Laurence de Birlingham. The surnames of all these persons shew that they (or their families) came from waterside places, and they may reasonably be supposed to have brought their business with them. Whether they were the first to make the change, or whether it had been made by their parents or others before them, cannot quite be said. There were parmenters in that district till about the middle of the century.² Up to that time we must suppose the practice had been for the tanning to be done out in the country, and the skins sent into the city to be prepared by the parmenters for the makers of shoes, doublets, and all the various articles composed of leather. But from about the middle of the century the tanners themselves came and settled in the city, very likely including the parmenters' work in their own. What led to the change we cannot say. The tanners would doubtless see their way to carrying on their business with greater freedom and greater profit, for in their own villages they would most likely be to some extent under feudal restrictions. Perhaps we may conjecture that, as the name implies, the parmenters' work was of Norman introduction, while the tanners' trade was of native growth, and was then first becoming strong enough to assert itself. However that may be, the tanners by the end of the century included several members of

² *Streets and Lanes*, p. 3.

good social standing, and were of sufficient strength to defy the authorities by setting up a private gild of their own. This is a plain proof of the very extensive use which was made of leather at this time.

This observation is confirmed by the consideration of another name of similar significance. The market end of what is now called London Street was at the close of the thirteenth century called "Hosyergate," the street of the hosiers. But just as there were no parmenters in Parmentergate, so there were no hosiers in Hosyergate. The street had been appropriated by workers in metals, latoners, furburs, and cutlers. Not only had the hosiers deserted the street which must have received its name from being once occupied by them, but the name of hosier seems for the time to have died out of the city. If we enquire what had taken its place, or rather the place of the article of clothing which the hosiers had provided, we find that instead of hosiers there were traders called "caligarii," who occupied part of the east side of the market. The nature of their trade is discussed in *Streets and Lanes*, p. 26. They were, almost without doubt, workers in leather, and made gaiters and buskins. The hosiers had probably worked more with wool.

8.—THE EARLY WOOLLEN TRADE IN NORWICH.

The facts just mentioned may be taken as evidence of the prevalent use of leather in the city in the middle of the thirteenth century, and of its preparation from first to last within the city bounds. Do they also imply that leather as a material for clothing was supplanting wool? This might be too much to affirm without more evidence. But without venturing an opinion on that point, I would say that a study of our earliest records does not bear out

the commonly received idea that woollen *manufacture* was carried on to any extent in Norwich till the fourteenth century had begun. The circumstances of the case are curious, and must, I think, be due to some local regulations which have not come down to us. The foundation for the belief is, as usual, our great authority, Blomefield. In his account of the introduction of the Flemish weavers by Philippa, Queen of Edward III., he refers to an opinion, which he upholds, that some Dutch weavers, driven out of their country by an inundation in the time of King Henry I., settled "at Wursted in Norfolk, and so early introduced the art of stuff-weaving there, which, as is natural to suppose, soon made its way into this city; not that I think it grew to be of any great consequence till the latter part of Henry III. and Edward I.'s time, when it much increased, so that in Edward II.'s time, worsted stuff was famous, and Norwich increased very much by the making of it." This statement is substantially correct, except as regards the city in the days of Henry III. and Edward I. I can offer no opinion about what is said to have taken place in the time of Henry I. About the early fame of Worstead cloth there is fortunately a very valuable entry in a document which might well find a place among our Society's original collections. It is a roll of accounts of some city official (he could hardly be other than the Chamberlain). His name was Peter Flynt, and his accounts run from 1293 to 1305. One annual item of expenditure accounted for is what are called presents ("exennia") given out of the courtesy of the whole community (ex curialitate totius communitatis), to the King's Justices. Among the "courteous presents" given in 1301 are specified "panni de Worthstede et panni de Aylesham." Worsted cloths, therefore, were held in estimation before the thirteenth century was out, and so were those of Aylsham. But

no Norwich fabrics are ever mentioned at that time, and, so far as our evidences guide us, were almost certainly not made. Had the manufacture of woollen fabrics been carried on in the city, the fact must have revealed itself in the existence of weavers. But while our thirteenth-century deeds make frequent mention of other cloth workers, as dyers, fullers, shearers, and tailors; it is very rare to find a person called a weaver. And even a "lanator" or wool merchant is hardly ever met with. On the other hand, "drapers," "lyndrapers," and "merciers," who may be supposed to have sold woollen garments, were very numerous, and evidently among the leading citizens. The supremacy of "Worstead" cloth is further shown by the fact that in the reign of Edward II. a market row was called the "Worthstede Rowe." These facts seem to prove that in the thirteenth century, wool, as a raw material, was not to any extent an article of merchandize or of manufacture in the city. The cloth sold was foreign, or at least country-made cloth. The foreign merchants must have purchased their wool from country dealers. The only exception to this rule in the city may have been the Cistercian monks, who are known to have been the great sheep breeders and wool producers of that age. Along the river bank in Conesford the Cistercian Abbeys of Sibton, Garendon, Woburn, and most likely Combe, all held lands, presumably for convenience of shipping wool. Their trade, however, would not go to the profit of the city. Why the city should have been so backward in supporting so valuable a source of commercial progress, I have at present no means of conjecturing. To suppose that it had anything to do with the concurrent prosperity of the leather trade, might be to convert a mere coincidence into a cause and effect.

9.—MADDER AND WOAD.

The church, which is called in the thirteenth century and is still called "St. John de Maddermarket," furnishes another illustration of the way in which the names we find in the earliest documents give a clue to something earlier still. Such a name could never have arisen unless there had been a market in that neighbourhood for the sale of madder. But there was certainly no such market there at the close of the thirteenth century. Nor was there any market so called elsewhere in the city at that time. It is almost capable of proof that madder was not then used in the city at all for a dye. This seems to be the only explanation of the fact that while at least five merchants in the city were engaged in trading with woad, being described as "le weyder," not one is described by any word implying that he traded with madder. Although there is nothing to show what may have been the reason for this preference for woad in place of madder, there is an interesting circumstance connected with the woad trade in Norwich, which is worth relating.

The woad was brought by merchants from Amiens and Corby in Picardy, in the north of France. Whether they first came here in 1286 we are not told. But in that year an agreement was made between them and the citizens, which was enrolled in the City Roll of Deeds.³ The foreign merchants are "Nicholas le Monner, Peter Cokerel, John Fruyter, Firmin Cokerel, Peter le Monner, and Ralph le Monner, merchants of Amiens and Corby." They brought their woad (weydam) in casks (doleis) and in frails (fraellis). They also sold barrels of ashes and another vegetable dye, wold (woldam). They agreed to

³ Rot. Cart., 14 Edw. I.

submit to certain dues and regulations, and in return were permitted to trade freely, and to "stay within the said city as long as they pleased." This agreement was finally ratified, in the form of a legal dispute, before the king's Itinerant Justices, on the Feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul [29 June], 1286.⁴

The interest attaching to this agreement with the citizens of Norwich is still further increased by comparing it with a similar agreement made by the merchants of the same places with the citizens of London. The London Composition is given in Riley's *Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis, Liber Albus*, iii. 164. It was made on 18th July, 1334. From it we learn that a previous agreement had been entered into between the parties one hundred years before, on 12th October, 1237, by which the merchants of Amiens, Corby, and Nesle, were permitted freely to trade in London with woad, garlic, and onions. But, it is stated (p. 167), "now for some time the merchants of the said towns, for certain causes, have withheld from coming unto the said city with their merchandize, in manner as they were wont to do." Thereupon certain merchants, deputed to act on behalf of these foreign communities, once more approached the citizens of London, and entered into a fresh agreement in 1334. One of these, John de Coquerelle, who specially represented Amiens, bears the same surname as two of those mentioned at Norwich. Another, John le Monner,

⁴ Mr. E. Corder of Norwich, in a paper on the Cultivation of Woad at Parson Drove, read before the Norfolk and Norwich Naturalists' Society, and printed in their *Transactions*, vol. v., has given this agreement in full (p. 163.) After stating that woad (*isatis tinctoria*) produces a dye similar to indigo (p. 145), he thus explains the other articles dealt in by these merchants:—"Wold or Weld, *resida lutiola*, . . . was formerly largely cultivated on the Continent and in Britain, for its brilliant yellow dye." "The ashes were, most probably, similar to the barilla of the present day, an impure carbonate of soda . . . used as the alkali in dyeing" (p. 154.)

has a surname which is also borne by three of those at Norwich. This latter surname is curious, because it is supposed to mean "monetarius" or minter. A "Peter le Monner" was resident in St. Clement's by Fibrige in 1287,⁵ and from the evidence of the Guildhall Deeds, was identical with a "Peter Pymund," who is often mentioned, and was there as late as 1313.⁶ There is nothing strange in finding the name in Norwich, which had the privilege of a mint; but we should scarcely expect that the resident minters would take up the trade of woad merchants. However this may be, it is clear that the Norwich Agreement comes just midway between the two London Agreements. It is not unreasonable to conjecture that the "certain causes" mentioned in London, which induced the merchants to withdraw from that city, may have led to their making a venture in Norwich, and establishing themselves there for some years. It may be no more than a coincidence that their return to London in 1334, is almost immediately followed by the Communarius of Norwich Monastery accounting in his Roll of 1339 for profits received by the growth and sale of madder.⁷ We may note the facts. It would be unwise to make any deduction from them.

10.—MIGRATION FROM THE COUNTRY TO THE CITY.

The names of the inhabitants of Norwich at the end of the thirteenth century tell a tale which cannot be mistaken as to the origin of the population. The names of foreign origin are comparatively few. A considerable number of the names are descriptive of the occupations the holders were engaged in. But by far the commonest

⁵ Rot. Cart. 15 Edw. I.

⁶ *Streets and Lanes*, p. 75.

⁷ *Ibm.*, p. 58.

form of surname is that derived from the place whence the holder, or his father, or some remoter ancestor had originally come into the city. And of these place-names nearly the whole are names of places in Norfolk and Suffolk. Then, as now, the towns attracted the villagers from a very wide circuit. A word may first be said about the use of surnames in the city at this time. It was in quite a transitional and uncertain state. One might almost doubt whether people knew their own names sometimes, so variously are they described even in official documents, from whence alone of course our information is derived. One instance will suffice to illustrate this remark. There was living in the street of Over Conesford [in King Street, a little north of Rose Lane] a man whose name was Seman. That is the only constant element in his description. Sometimes he is Seman Acuarius, sometimes Seman le Agulyer, sometimes Seman le Nedler. These described his occupation in three languages: the official Latin of the scribes, the Norman-French of polite society, and the vernacular English of the common people. At another time he is Seman Wrinel, a name which had been also borne by another, perhaps his father. It is spelt in various ways and, so far as I can conjecture, was originally Wrynek, and doubtless perpetuated a personal characteristic of some ancestor. Lastly, he is Seman de Blythburgh, and this clearly shews whence his family had come to Norwich.

Now it is to be remembered that every such surname would be given indifferently to every member of the bearer's family, including females and children, to two or three generations. Thus a certain John, Dean of the City of Norwich, who is usually called John de Berstrete, is in one place called John le Mercer, Dean of Norwich. His father, of the same name as the Dean, was a clerk, and it is probable that it was his grandfather who had really been the mercer. It follows, therefore, that although a

name descriptive of an occupation may in most cases describe the occupation of the person mentioned, it is not safe to assume that this must always be so. When, however, we find a person described by the name of a place, although he himself may not have come from that place, yet it is certain that the first member of his family who came to Norwich must have been so called for that reason. We cannot imagine the name of a country place being given to a person, no member of whose family had belonged to it. The place-surnames, then, afford a safe clue to the origin of a large proportion of the inhabitants. And there can be no reason for supposing that this exodus from the country into the town was new at the end of the thirteenth century. No doubt the strong and orderly government of Edward gave an impulse to the growth of the city, which had been wanting in less settled times. But the political freedom of the city and its privileges had been assured for one hundred years at least, and the causes which attracted the country people must have been in operation with more or less effect for many generations. We may endeavour, then, to gather up one or two of the clues thus afforded us as to the building up of the city population.

From an index of the names of persons mentioned in the Conveyance Rolls relating to the city between 1285 and 1298 I will extract some of these place-names. For the purpose of illustration I will take those that come under the letter B. The full names would be "Lecia de Badingham," "Adam de Beccles," &c. It will be sufficient to give only the names of the places. These are what occur under this letter: Badingham, Baketon (Bacton), Baldeswelle (Bawdeswell), Barsham, Baningham, Batesford (Battisford), Bauburgh, Banham, Beccles, Becheton or Begeton (Beighton), Bedeford, Bedingham, Bedington (?), Bek (Beck in Billingford), Belache or Belaghe (Belaugh),

Benshale (Benhall), Beneville (? Bunwell), Bereford (Barford), Bergh (Bergh Apton or Burgh), Beri (Bury), Berneye (Barney), Berton (Barton), Beston, Besthorpe, Betele (Beetley), Biltham (?), Binetre (Bintry), Birston, Briston, Biskelee (Bixley), Bittering, Blafeud (Blofield), Blakeshall (Blaxhall), Blickling, Blitheburgh, Blythe (?), Bokenham (Buckenham), Boton (Booton), Boyland (Morningthorpe), Boyton, Bradfield, Bradenham, Bradewell, Brakne (Bracon Ash), Bramerton, Brampton, Brandon, Brehton (?), Brekles, Brigham (Bridgham), Brining (? Briningham), Brok (Brooke), Bromholm, Brom (Brome), Brumsted (Brunstead), Brundhale (Brundall), Brundisch, Bumsted (?), Bukeston (Buxton), Bulthorpe (Bowthorpe), Bungeye, Bures, Burtoft (Fritton), Burwode (?), Burlingham, Burnham.

There are thus under this one letter alone no less than sixty-five places which had contributed to form the population of Norwich in the thirteenth century. Of these nearly forty are in Norfolk and about ten in Suffolk, while some others which are doubtful would be most likely either in Norfolk or Suffolk; Bedford alone is clearly outside the district. The total number of separate names beginning with B is about 150, so that one-third may be known to have come from country places in the two counties and more than one-quarter from Norfolk itself. It is very probable, too, that a great many other persons, who are not called from places, had come, like their neighbours, from no great distance.

An examination of the names under other letters produces a similar result. Taking all to the end of the letter H, it appears that over 130 names of Norfolk towns and villages are represented, and twenty of Suffolk, besides those that are evidently local, but not now in use. As this includes rather less than half the index, the whole might give not far short of 300 for Norfolk and quite 50 for Suffolk.

We must remember further that the Conveyance Rolls, from which these names are taken, would contain only the names of those who were householders or holders of some sort of real property which they could buy or sell. It is true that many of the things conveyed were of very small value, even a few shillings rent or standing place for a market basket. Still there must have been large numbers of people whose names do not occur in them. A similar investigation of the contemporary Leet Rolls (of which there are seven for the same period) would add many more names. I have attempted it with the letter B, with the result that six more Norfolk names are added, Barningham, Barwick, Bilney, Blakeney, Blo Norton, and Brisley. A similar proportion throughout the alphabet would make an increase of at least forty.

Taking into consideration all the circumstances of the case, we shall certainly be within the mark in assuming that the city of Norwich, towards the close of the thirteenth century, had attracted within its sheltering walls natives of at least 400 Norfolk, and perhaps sixty Suffolk, towns, villages, and manors.

Compared with this large preponderance of local names, those of more distant places are few, and admit of an easy explanation. They are chiefly those of large towns, as London, York, Lincoln, Cambridge, Carlisle, Coventry, &c. Evidently the holders of such names were merchants who had come to Norwich in the pursuit of their trade. Their presence illustrates no more than the undoubted fact that Norwich was a flourishing town, where business was brisk and profits hopeful. They formed only a small element in the whole population.

11.—THE CITY AND FEUDALISM.

My object in this present paper is not to describe the city as it was when these early Conveyance Rolls were

being written, but rather to get behind their records and extract from them the secrets of what had been going on before their time. They show us plainly whence the population had come, and they tell us the occupations of a good many persons at the particular time they refer to. But they do not equally satisfy our curiosity on two questions, which a student of social history would wish to have answered—what sort of people were these countrymen who thus flocked into the city from all directions? and, what was the attraction which brought them? They were unquestionably the unconscious instrument in the working out of a great social revolution. What was their influencing motive, and how did they carry it out? It is easy to give an off-hand answer to these questions by saying "The country was the land of feudal bondage, the chartered town was the home of freedom and prosperity." This was only half a truth, at least so far as the town was concerned. Freedom and prosperity were there in abundance, but they were not to be enjoyed by every one who chose to come and take a snatch at them. They were the exclusive property of the "citizens," who regarded incomers from Norfolk villages and merchants from Norway and Flanders exactly in the same light. They were all alike "extranei," foreigners. If they chose to pay for their admission to the freedom after due enquiry had been made into their credit as well as into their character, and then set up a house with a sufficient stock of moveables in it to indemnify the authorities if they failed to pay their due contributions to the common charges,—in that case they might trade and be welcome, but not otherwise. And while there was no profit to be made in the city till they had means enough to get into this privileged society, neither could it have been always easy for them to extricate themselves from the conditions of feudal bondage. A "villanus" who was bound to

render his lord certain services as the condition of the tenure of his land, could not throw it up without his lord's consent, or at least without sacrificing the prospects of his family, and a "nativus" or serf might be brought back again if he ran away.

These reflections would lead to the supposition that the greater number of the people in the City whose names were derived from country places were of the limited class of "freeholders" in the country manors, and in many instances were no doubt members of the lord's own family. The process of subinfeudation had, during the thirteenth century, largely increased the number of the landed gentry. But for younger sons, brothers, sons-in-laws, and more distant relations of a country lord there were few openings in the country, especially in times of peace. A gift of money or an annual rent would suffice to start them in the town, and to that class I have little doubt that most of the owners of the above-mentioned names belonged.⁸ It may be observed in passing that if the ranks of citizenship were largely recruited from this class it would help, among other reasons, to account for the oligarchical tendency which had already begun to manifest itself in the government of the privileged boroughs.

Whilst, however, I believe that the greater part of these persons already mentioned belonged to the class of local country gentry, and obtained admission to the freedom of the city by *purchase*, there were, of course, other country people who also made their way into the city. It may be expected that such documents as have come down to us would make only very incidental mention of the names of the lower classes in the social scale. We are almost compelled to imagine the probable course of events, and

⁸ In not a few cases such surnames are derived directly from manors which were not co-extensive with villages, as Ranulph de Mangrene, a manor in Swardston. See also Boyland, Burtoft (p. 69).

see how the little information at our disposal fits in with our theory. We may suppose, then, that while the families of the freeholders could, without hindrance, exercise their choice of removal from the country into the town, the feudal barriers which existed in the case of other classes were not impassable. In the first place, where a "villanus" had a growing family which was more than sufficient to perform the required services, it could not be to the interest of the lord to throw obstacles in the way of the migration of some of them. Still less would he be disposed to hinder the removal of members of an over-large family of serfs for whose support he would be himself ultimately responsible. This would be a natural process of social evolution. Moreover, the whole century till Edward's accession had been one of weak government and political disturbance. Many a time must a country manor have been left without due control, and many opportunities must have arisen for both villains and serfs to escape from the ties which bound them to their native soil. For such refugees the towns were the safest homes to settle in, and in general, though not perhaps quite so absolutely as is usually supposed, their protection sufficed to preserve those who had sought their shelter from the attempts which the manorial lords occasionally made to recover their rights.

We may conjecture that, as the *free* immigrants would become incorporated into the select circle of citizens by money payments, so the more industrious or more promising of the *villains* or *serfs* would work their way up more gradually. A young "villain" would begin as an apprentice. The system of apprenticeship was in operation in the city very early, certainly before the close of the thirteenth century, for an Apprenticeship Bond is enrolled among the Conveyance Deeds in the Guildhall, in 1291. An apprentice could either earn money on his own account, or else was expected to get it from his

friends, for according to chapter 36 of Norwich Customs,⁹ he must pay at least one mark (13s. 4d.) for his admission to citizenship, and more if it was thought he could afford it. Presumably such apprentices would often be the sons of country "villani," who had some influence or connection to get such a fair start for them in the household of some city merchant. The same opening would, no doubt, be often taken advantage of by the country gentry on behalf of their sons. I imagine that when these young persons grew up and became householders or traders, we should find them described by the name of their occupation, not of their place of origin. Up to that time they would be known as "John, servant of William le Mercer," or the like, a description which constantly occurs in the Leet Rolls.

A serf (*nativus*) or any other who came into the city as a friendless stranger, had, apparently, but one course open to him, to hire himself out as a day labourer. The 43rd Chapter of Customs¹ complains of the number of such independent persons in the city earning, as it says, one penny a day. There is no clue to the names and origin of such as these. Some serfs, however, and we can hardly doubt some "villani" also, were more fortunate, and were brought into the city with some of their free neighbours. The distinction between classes in the city at that time was comparatively small, and even a serf might rise to be a citizen in Norwich, though not everywhere.

The evidence on which these foregoing remarks are founded is only slight, but, such as it is, it will, I think, be held fairly to support them.

I will first mention the case of a surname "de Irstede." This name was borne, as already mentioned, between 1280 and 1290, by several persons, all tanners.

⁹ *Book of Pleas*, fol. 94d.

¹ *Ibm.*, fol. 96.

Some of them were father and son, but two of them had other surnames, one being Gervase Kempe de Irstede, and another, Nicholas Godwyne de Irstede. A third, Adam de Irstede, who died in 1288, was the head of a third family. He may have been a brother of Gervase, but it is most improbable that the other two were related, as Nicholas Godwyne married Gervase Kempe's daughter. Here, then, we have two, and very likely three, families coming about the same time into the city from the same place, and following the same occupation. We are without any clue to their condition in the place of their origin. Their being known by the place-name rather than by their occupation, seems to imply that they were not brought up in that occupation in the city, but had followed it before they came. If so, they would be either freeholders or well-to-do manorial tenants in villainage. I have referred to them with others as illustrating the transfer of the tanning industry from the country to the city. They also illustrate the way in which a somewhat wholesale migration from particular places must have occasionally occurred. These families need not be supposed to have left their home all at exactly the same time. A small village would hardly have three tanners in it at once. But the evidence of the deeds in which their names occur, points to the conclusion that they belonged to no more than two generations. Local circumstances existent at Irstead at this time may have facilitated their removal.

The next case is of a more definite character.² When the Itinerant Justices were in Norwich, in the 14th Edward I. (1286), John de Vaux, lord of the manor of Shottesham, preferred before them a claim against a certain "Henry Fischel de Schotesham," who was then resident in the city. He claims him as his "nativus," but

² Crown Plea Roll, 14 Edw. I. m. 92.

perhaps felt he could not substantiate his claim so far, for in his plea he sets forth more definitely that he is seized of Henry as his "villanus." The specific charge he makes is that Henry has withdrawn himself and married in Norwich without his license. The charge looks as if Henry were actually in serfdom, or at least a "villanus" of the lowest class. The result was this:—Henry practically admits the justice of the claim as set forth. He acknowledges that he is in tithing with other villains of the said lord in Shottesham, and that he pays to his lord each year "chevagium." (This was "capitagium," a poll-tax paid by the members of a tithing to free themselves from the obligation of personal attendance at the leet, and to be represented there through their chief pledge.) Henry, therefore, admits that he has done wrong in marrying without his lord's license, and offers to atone for the offence by payment of two shillings. I can find no mention of Henry Fyschel's name in our local documents, so I am unable to form any opinion as to the length of time he may have been in the city, or what he was doing there. As he does not offer to return, it seems that this part of claim was not made. It appears, however, that residence in a city on the part of a villain or a serf did not debar a lord from claiming his feudal rights. Of this we shall see that there can be no doubt.

I pass to another case of much interest. On 6th December, 1289, Roger Swifteford, fishmonger, granted to Andrew de Acre, "citizen of Norwich," and Beatrix his wife, daughter of Roger, for their advancement, a messuage in St. Lawrence. Now, in the Conveyance Rolls the title "citizen of Norwich" is not given to all who had been admitted to the freedom, but only to a certain limited number of the ruling class. For instance, it is here given to Andrew, but not to Roger Swifteford, who, nevertheless, as a fishmonger, must have been "of the

freedom." Andrew de Acre, therefore, was in 1289 in a high social position in the city. On 14th January following we come to three deeds enrolled on the same day. By one of these, Bartholomew de Acre, "merchant, citizen of Norwich," grants to Andrew de Acre, "servienti suo," his servant, for his advancement, a messuage in St. Michael in Conesford. In another, Bartholomew (described as before) grants another messuage adjoining to Andrew (again specified as his "servant"). In the third, the same messuage (described now as held by Andrew of the gift and feoffment of Bartholomew) is released to Andrew by Ralph, son of Robert le Orfeure de Castelacre, and Alice his wife, daughter of Richard Perteshir of Westacre. This time, as Bartholomew is not concerned, the "serviens" is dropped, and Andrew is once more "civis Norwici." On 28th April following, Bartholomew, "merchant and citizen," granted some portion of this property to the Austin Friars, who had settled in the neighbourhood. He had re-purchased it from Andrew, and again it is described as acquired by Bartholomew from Andrew de Acre, "his servant" and Beatrix his wife. But when in March of the following year Andrew obtained another adjoining piece of land, in which Bartholomew was not concerned, he once more ceases to be a "serviens" and becomes "civis Norwici."

Before speaking further of Andrew, we may observe that here is another instance of a considerable migration into Norwich from the same district, and that a very distant one. In this case the immigrants were unquestionably persons of good standing. Robert the goldsmith of Castleacre must have been a man of position, and able to give his son Ralph a good start. Bartholomew must also have been prosperous, for he must have brought Andrew his "serviens" with him. If Ralph came to Norwich as a married man, we have the migration of

two families, while if he married afterwards in Norwich, it would seem that his father-in-law from Westacre was also one of the immigrants. This settlement must have taken place many years before the date of these deeds. Bartholomew had long been a leading citizen, for he was one of the bailiffs in 1282. Andrew's advancement must also have taken some years to reach the position in which we find him.

To return to Andrew and his original position. I have specified the description given of him in the above deeds, because it seems to me to have but one possible meaning. When Andrew stands by himself he is "citizen," when in conjunction with Bartholomew, he is "serviens." This word, it is true, is of very wide significance. In the early apprenticeship bond, already referred to, occurs the expression "serviens vel apprenticius." It is almost certain that in the early Leet Rolls "serviens" must often mean apprentice. But here this seems impossible. If Andrew had merely once been Bartholomew's "apprentice," there could be no sense in perpetuating the memory of the fact. It must, I think, mean that Andrew was under the feudal control of Bartholomew, and that Bartholomew did not choose altogether to forego the claim. Thus, again, we see that on the one hand feudal bondage was not a bar to citizenship, while on the other hand the feudal lords would not allow citizenship to be a bar to their claims. Both these statements, indeed, admit of proof.

That even serfs were admitted to the freedom of the city we have the direct evidence of the 36th Chapter of Customs mentioned above, which treats of admission to citizenship. It begins with saying that the utmost care ought to be exercised in this matter, because those who are admitted are free "et non servi alicujus"—no man's servants. And after laying down the conditions of admission to one

who had been an apprentice and to one who had not, it ends thus:—"And if a 'servus' desires to enter he must first seek his lord's license by his letters patent." This last clause would be understood by most students to mean that a "servus" was obliged to seek his lord's license within a year and a day, but that after that time no one could interfere with him. But a case to be mentioned directly throws some doubt on this commonly received theory.

The clause bears rather the appearance of an afterthought, and might belong to the beginning of the next century, but the only mention of a "nativus" in the Conveyance Rolls appears to amount to as much. On 1st April, 1288, Richard, son of Simon Skilman de Hedersete, conveyed to Adam de Stirston, clerk, citizen of Norwich, a place of land in St. Giles, which is said to have been acquired by Richard from Sir Ralph Malherbe and from Roger son of Richard de Hellegate, "nativo suo." If a bondsman was qualified to be a joint owner of land in the city with his country lord, and to be a party to its alienation, it seems scarcely to admit of doubt that he would be also eligible for admission to the citizenship if he applied for it.

The other statement, that the feudal lords did not without a considerable struggle relinquish their rights over the residents in the city has already been shown in the action of John de Vaux and Bartholomew de Acre. It appears still more clearly in the last case which I will cite, a case which is most remarkable in all its details. It is referred to by Kirkpatrick in *Streets and Lanes*, p. 34, but he had no occasion to dwell on the particular point at present before us. He says "The said William de Colton in a plea of villenage against him, wherein it was alleged that he belonged to the Manor of Costeseye, produced a Charter of King Edward I., &c." The plea was brought before the judges at Westminster, in 6 Edw. II. (1313),³ and will be

³ Coram Rege Roll, 6 Edw. II. m. 26.

found fully recited in the "Town Close Evidences" prepared for the case between the citizens and freemen of Norwich with respect to the ownership of the Town Close. The case is as follows:—

The manor of Costessey was then in the King's hands, and he had granted it on a life term to John de Clavinger. This John, probably from some examination of the records of the manor, complained to the king that no less than eighteen "villani" belonging to his manor had withdrawn themselves and their goods and chattles, and transferred them to various places within the bailiwick of the Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, to the king's damage. "Villani" is used here, as perhaps in the case of Henry Fyschel, as including "servi," and, in fact, John de Clavinger claimed them all as serfs of the manor. It must not be supposed that there had been a general exodus of the manorial serfs at any one time. The manorial rolls had evidently been searched for a great many years back.

We are concerned with only four of the eighteen: William Fiz, William Moundford de Colton, Henry son of Robert Tobyn, and his brother John. These four, asserting their freedom and being thereupon attached to answer the charge, appeared and thus pleaded on their own behalf. They all said that they were "free citizens of the king's city of Norwich, resident and abiding therein, to wit, the said William de Colton for sixty years and the said William Fiz for thirty years, at scot and lot and at rendering tallages with the free citizens, and that without challenge. And the said Henry son of Robert Tobyn, and his brother John, said that they were born and all their ancestors were born in the said city and were resident therein, &c."

"And upon this they proffer a certain charter of the Lord King William I., in which is contained that if serfs (servi) shall have remained without challenge for one year and a day in cities of the king, or in walled boroughs of the

king, or in castles of the king, from that day they are made free, and are free from the bond of serfdom for ever; and none the less the said Henry and John his brother proffer a charter of King Edward, father of the king that now is, granted to the aforesaid Robert, their father, in these words, &c." The charter produced was a grant from the king, in 1292, to Robert de Hegham, of some houses in Norwich, formerly belonging to Isaac son of Deulecres the Jew, which had escheated to the king at the expulsion of the Jews in 1290.

"And in like manner the said William de Colton proffers a charter of the said king, granted to him in these words, &c."—William de Colton's charter referred to two pieces of land in the Nedler-row in the Market. In 1293 several of the stalls in this row were rebuilt.⁴ William, being the owner of three pieces of land, obtained license from the bailiffs to build on them. (The deeds containing these grants are still in the Guildhall.) In the case of two of them, luckily for him, he was obliged to seek the sanction of an "*Inquisitio ad quod damnum*," probably because the holder of each of these tenements was liable to the annual payment of one halfpenny to the king's landgable. The inquisition reported favourably, and the required license was granted by the king on 10th May, 1305.

The fourth defendant, William Fiz, having no such royal grant to fortify his case with, was obliged to take his chance.

Against these pleas John de Clavering protested, on behalf of the king, alleging that the manor had come into the hands of Henry II., and so down to the then reigning king, and that they had been seized of all the defendants and their ancestors as their villains.

After several adjournments the matter was at last

⁴ See *Streets and Lanes*, p. 34.

decided in the case of William de Colton and the two brothers, in these words:—"Whereas the Lord Edward the king granted to the father of the said Henry and John, to them and their heirs, and also to the said William de Colton and his heirs as aforesaid, his charters aforesaid, as to freemen, &c., against which charters no inquest of the country may be admitted, it is declared to the said Henry and John his brother, and to William de Colton, that they go hence without a day, saving the king's right, &c." That is, they were dismissed without the liability of further proceedings.

As for William Fiz, all he could do was to plead his thirty year's residence in Norwich as a free citizen without challenge, and he claimed that a jury of his country should enquire into it. Thereupon it was ordered that a jury be appointed for the purpose, partly from the city and partly from the county. The finding of the jury is not recorded in the printed "Town Close Evidences."

What strikes us most forcibly in this case is the great length of time which had elapsed since these serfs were alleged to have withdrawn themselves into the city, and yet they were reclaimed. Further, it appears that the theory of a year and a day in a city being sufficient to guarantee freedom, though based on an alleged decree of William the Conqueror, was not relied on, and in the case of William Fiz was not adduced a second time. The claim of William de Colton and the brothers Tobyn to freedom was admitted solely because the predecessor of the reigning king had admitted it by granting them charters, *as to freemen*. That being so, no further discussion of the matter was permissible.

Now, the case is rendered somewhat less simple by the fact that John de Clavering did not prefer the claim on his own behalf, but on that of the king, as the real lord of the manor. This might bring the case under the

operation of the legal maxim that against the king's rights no time can form a bar. Though, therefore, this plea of residence for so long a period was not relied on against the king, it might have been quite a sufficient defence against anyone else. I think that a fair consideration of the evidence will lead us to conclude that the defence, while it was certainly not absolutely admitted, was yet not altogether rejected. We can hardly suppose that a veritable charter of William I., declaring the freedom of a serf after a residence of a year and a day in the city, was actually produced. It can only mean that the statement was alleged as a fact which it was hoped might be acknowledged. If it had been acknowledged, surely the king would have been bound to abide by it even as against himself, just as he stood to the charters of his predecessor. We have seen reason also for thinking that this doctrine was not acknowledged by Bartholomew de Acre when he described Andrew de Acre as his "serviens," long after a year and a day. And the "nativus" of Ralph de Malherbe can hardly have been less than a year and a day in the city when he joined his lord in selling a messuage. Still on the other hand we may observe that the plea of residence was not held altogether futile, even against the king, for this was the only point which the jury were to be appointed to decide in the case of William Fiz, who apparently had no other plea to offer, and did not deny, as Henry and John Tobyn did, that his ancestors had once been villains of the manor of Costessey.⁵

We may conclude, then, from the few instances of which

* Some towns, as Shrewsbury, Gloucester, &c., had a clause in their Charters of the thirteenth century to the effect that if any man's "nativus" remained in the town, and shared in lot and scot, a year and a day without challenge, he might not be reclaimed by his lord, but might remain free in the said town. The specification of the privilege rather goes to prove that it was not an absolutely acknowledged right.—Gross, *Gild Merchant*, i. 30.

the memory has thus survived, that as the city of Norwich grew and prospered in the thirteenth century it gathered not only within its sheltering fold, but also within the privileged circle of its free citizens, not a few "villani" and even serfs. And although, as opportunities presented themselves, their former lords tried to recover their rights over them, they probably seldom succeeded even then, and still less as the influence of the towns increased and that of the feudal system diminished. In the welcome thus accorded even into its innermost circle to persons of all ranks and conditions, Norwich was honourably distinguished from some of its compeers, and especially from the greatest of them all, London, where the privilege of citizenship was refused to anyone of servile origin (*Liber Albus*, 33).

Here I must close this somewhat discursive series of "notes." Much more information might doubtless be gleaned from the stores in the Public Record Office and even from our Municipal Records. One element in the building-up of the City has here been untouched, the ecclesiastical. The social and commercial influence exercised by the monastic and other ecclesiastical bodies, which added so considerably to the population, might be largely traced out by a diligent study of the Rolls of the Obedientiaries and other documents in the Cathedral Treasury. We may hope that the day is not far distant when their secrets will be searched out and revealed.



1—FELBRIGG.

NORFOLK MEDIEVAL PATENS.

Medieval Patens in Norfolk.

COMMUNICATED BY

THE REV. C. R. MANNING, M.A., F.S.A.,

Hon. Sec.

Of the church plate in Norfolk, of pre-Reformation date, there are no specimens of chalices remaining, but there are as many as thirty-three patens. About one hundred have now been noted as existing in the whole country, so that our county possesses a third of them. Careful search has been made in both Archdeaconries, and as no further discoveries have been made in the last year or two, it is probable that no more remain.¹ It is a matter of surprise that any medieval plate exists for use at all, considering the stringent measures taken at the Reformation period to do away with everything that was looked upon as superstitious. In the valuable paper by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope and Mr. T. Fallow, F.S.A., in the 43rd vol. of the *Archæological Journal*, on the classification of chalices and patens, it is suggested that as the order for confiscating the "chalice" was intended to include the set of eucharistic vessels, it might have been taken literally by the parochial authorities, and the patens

¹ At Billington (near Scole) and Wiggshall St. German's (near Lynn) the paten-covers of Elizabethan cups have been evidently made out of earlier patens. A small circle of rays, for enclosing an obliterated device, probably the vernicle, is quite visible in each.

in some cases spared. The Commissioners, however, were not in general to be satisfied with half-measures, and there seems to have been a great indifference in the parishes to the spoliation of their churches. Much plate, no doubt, found its way into private hands, and some of it may have been restored again to the churches at the accession of Queen Mary, especially where the patron, or principal owner, was a Roman Catholic; and may have been retained when Elizabeth came to the throne. In the Diocese of Norwich the churches were rich, and the Puritan feeling strong, and it would be one of the first to engage the attention of the spoilers under Edward VI. It may be, therefore, that the injunctions of Elizabeth were in some places regarded as forestalled, and the work already done; and accordingly a few patens were overlooked. It is to be observed that almost all the patens in the following list, and indeed in the country generally, are of late date, and none are such as would be of much value at the time, or remarkable for rich workmanship or jewelled decoration. This is probably to be accounted for by the circumstance that the commissioners would appropriate the best and costliest, and leave for parochial use only the commonest and the latest that had been then provided.

It is hardly necessary to say that the medieval paten was a small circular plate, without any foot, engraved in the centre with a sacred device, which is enclosed in a sunken circle, usually foliated. It was intended to fit the bowl of a chalice as a cover. The subjects in the centres do not show much variety: the commonest is the Vernicle, or Face of our Lord, within a nimbus and rays; others are the Manus Dei, or Hand of God raised in benediction; the sacred monogram for "Jesus," and the Agnus Dei. These are all represented in the Norfolk patens, with the addition of an enamelled figure of St. Margaret in that

at Felbrigg. The old inventories of church plate supply many other similar devices.

The slight differences in the make of all the known patens have been classified, as already stated, by Mr. Hope and Mr. Fallow, under certain forms and types, which are very useful for their purpose. The distinctions noticed do not apply to their dates, but to their shape. They divide them first into two forms. "In Form I. the paten is sunk with a plain circular depression; this first depression being followed by a second, which is multifoil in outline. In Form II. there is but one depression, which is either circular or multifoil. These two forms of paten comprise seven classes or types," viz. :—

TYPE A (Form I.) Lower depression quatrefoil; central devices, various. Date *circa* 1180 to 1260.

TYPE B (Form I. or II.) Lower depression, or single depression, octofoil or multiple; central device usually the *Manus Dei*. Date *circa* 1260 to 1300.

TYPE C (Form I.) Lower depression sexfoil, with plain spandrels; central device usually the *Manus Dei*. Date *circa* 1300 to 1450.

TYPE D (Form I.) Lower depression sexfoil, but spandrels filled with a rayed leaf ornament; central device most frequently the Vernicle, with, in many cases, an encircling glory of short rays. Examples occur from *circa* 1430 to 1530. Some of the later examples of this type have an engraved legend round the rim.

TYPE E (Form II.) Single circular depression, with more generally *ih̄s* or *ih̄c* as the central device. Date *circa* 1450 to 1510.

TYPE F (Form I.) An elaboration of Type D, which it resembles in general form; but the central device has a glory of long rays filling the field of the paten, and the rim bears an engraved legend. Central device various. Date *circa* 1525.

TYPE G (Form II.) An elaboration of Type E. Single circular depression, with central device surrounded by a glory of long rays. The rim bears an engraved legend. The only two examples extant of this type both have the Vernicle as the central device. Date *circa* 1520 to 1535.

By the kind permission of the various custodians of the patens remaining in Norfolk, photographs have been allowed to be taken of every specimen, and they are now reproduced for illustration. For several of them the Society is indebted to Mr. Fallow, who supplied them by his own camera.

The descriptions of the patens, given in the *Archæological Journal*, are so complete and accurate that I cannot do better than transcribe the account of the Norfolk ones, as I have permission to do, for this list, only altering the order to agree with the illustrations, and adding a few slight comments.

1. FELBRIGG. Silver gilt, with enamel. Diameter, $5\frac{2}{3}$ inches.

Device: Enamelled on a separate plate, inserted from behind, a figure of St. Margaret of Antioch (the patron saint of the church). She is crowned, and stands beneath a canopy. In her right hand is a cross, the lower staff end of which is pressed in the open jaw of the dragon. The left hand holds a closed book. Surrounding the enamelled plate is a circle, with twenty-one short rays on a hatched ground.

Spandrels with double leaf on stalk.

Raised edge to rim, with sixty-five short rays on a hatched ground, pointing inwards to rim.



3-BEIGHTON.



4-CROMER.



2-MERTON.



5-FOXLEY.



6-PASTON.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1520. A very beautiful paten.

TYPE D. Form I.

2. MERTON. Silver gilt. Diameter, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Device: Agnus Dei, facing to dexter. No ground below the feet. Over the fore-shoulder rises an upright pole with banner. The field is tooled in grooved lines, perhaps for enamel, no trace of which remains. All within a circle, containing thirty plain dots.

Spandrels with rayed leaf. Plain edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1470.

TYPE D. Form I.

[The thick material of this paten, and the stiff drawing of the Agnus, has led me to think it a good deal earlier than the above date. But the rayed leaf in the spandrels is somewhat against my view.]

3. BEIGHTON. Silver, formerly gilt. Diameter, $4\frac{1}{3}$ inches.

Device: Manus Dei issuing from the folds of a sleeve, and with cruciform nimbus on a hatched field. All within a circle of twelve short rays, a pellet within and between each ray. Plain edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, middle of fourteenth century. TYPE C. Form I.

4. CROMER. Silver. Diameter, $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Device: Manus Dei, which issues from the fold of a sleeve, and is immediately surrounded by pointed rays of glbry. All within a circle of twenty-four short rays on a hatched ground.

Molded edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1500.

TYPE C. Form I.

On the rim has been engraved *Cromer Parish, 1768*.

[This suggests that it may have been obtained at that time from another parish.]

5. FOXLEY. Silver gilt. Diameter, $5\frac{3}{16}$ inches.

Device: Manus Dei, which issues from the fold of a sleeve, and surrounded by clouds. All within a circle of sixteen short rays, with three pellets, triangularly within and between each ray.

Plain edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1350.

TYPE C. Form I.

6. PASTON. Silver gilt. Diameter, $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Depression angular.

Device: Manus Dei, issuing from the clouds, in which appear three stars. All within a circle of twenty-seven short rays, on a hatched ground. In the field of the paten are faintly incised two concentric circles from the radius of the centre.

Plain edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1450.

TYPE E. Form II.

7. RUNTON. Silver gilt. Diameter, $5\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

Device: The monogram I.H.C., in Lombardic letters, with contraction above, and five crosses within a hatched circle, enclosed by a band of twenty-one short rays.

Spandrels, with three leaves on stalk, sprayed outwards from the centre of the paten.

Plain edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1490.

TYPE D. Form I.

8. BEESTON-NEXT-MILEHAM. Silver parcel-gilt. Diameter, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.



short blunted rays, a pellet being within and between each. Centre of paten deeply depressed.

Spandrels with rayed leaf.

Molded edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1420.

TYPE D. Form I.

12. HAPPISBURGH. Silver, probably whole gilt originally. Diameter, $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Device: Vernicle, on a separate plate inserted from behind, and formerly enamelled, no trace of which remains. Bust, with twisted hair falling straight on the shoulders. Beard slightly forked. Shoulders in tunic. Cruciform nimbus in a separate circle to the head. All within a plain circle.

Spandrels with rayed leaf.

Legend in black letters pounced on the rim:—

✚ Accipite . ex . hoc . omnes . hoc . est . enī . corpus .
meū . quod . p . vobis . tradetur .

Molded edge to rim.

Three hall-marks: (1) An animal; (2) the leopard's head, crowned; (3) and small black letter g, the London date-letter for 1504-5.

TYPE D. Form I.

13. BANNINGHAM. Silver parcel-gilt. Diameter, $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Device: Vernicle. Bust, with straight hair falling on the shoulders. Beard forked. Shoulders in mantle; the upper half of a lozenge-shaped morse in front shown. Cruciform nimbus to head with short straight lines of glory enclosed in an ellipse. All within a circle of sixteen short split rays.

Spandrels, with rayed leaf.

Molded edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1520.

TYPE D. Form I.



13—BANNINGHAM.



14—BEECHAMWELL.



12—HAPPISBURGH.



15—BEESTON REGIS.



16—BRANCASTER.

14. BEECHAMWELL. Silver. Diameter, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Device: Vernicle. Bust, with straight hair falling on the shoulders. Beard forked. Floriated cruciform nimbus and straight lines of glory within a separate circle to head. Shoulders and breast in tunic. All within a plain circle, the field of which is tooled, perhaps for enamel, no trace of which remains.

Spandrels angular, and with rayed leaf.

Molded edge to rim.

Three hall-marks: (1) The maker's, a nondescript fleur-de-lys (as on the Wylde chalice, Wilts); (2) the leopard's head, crowned; (3) damaged, but is a London date-letter, *circa* 1520.

TYPE D. Form I.

15. BEESTON REGIS. Silver gilt. Diameter, 6 in.

Device: Vernicle. Large and boldly-designed bust, with straight hair falling on the shoulders, which are covered with a mantle fastened in front with a cruciform morse. Beard forked. Cruciform nimbus (a cross patonce) to head. All within a circle of eleven short blunt rays. Three pellets triangularly (*compare* Bacton paten) within and between each ray. Diameter of device, 2 inches.

Spandrels, with rayed leaf.

Molded edge to rim, with slight beading.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1450.

TYPE D. Form I.

16. BRANCASTER. Silver gilt. Diameter, $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Device: Vernicle. Bust, with long straight hair. Beard long and forked. Shoulders in a mantle. Floriated cruciform nimbus in an ellipse. All within a circle of fifteen short split rays, between each of which is a shorter ray, the circle interrupted by the device at the lower part.

Spandrels, with leaf on stalk.

Molded edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1520.

TYPE D. Form I.

17. OULTON. Silver gilt. Diameter, $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Device: Vernicle. Face only, unconventional and with crown of thorns on the brow. Hair wavy and curled. Beard undivided and blunt. Cruciform nimbus and rays surrounding the face. All within a wreathed band, and beautifully designed and engraved.

Spandrels, with small double leaf.

Molded edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1525.

TYPE D. Form I.

18. CASTON. Silver, originally gilt, or parcel-gilt. Diameter, $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Device: Vernicle. Bust, with twisted hair, falling straight. Beard pointed. Cruciform nimbus and straight lines of glory to the head. All within a circle of fourteen short split rays, interrupted at the bottom by the device.

Spandrels, with varying rayed leaf.

Band of very small split rays to edge of rim.

One mark (doubtful), as on North Tuddenham paten.

Date, *circa* 1520.

TYPE D. Form I.

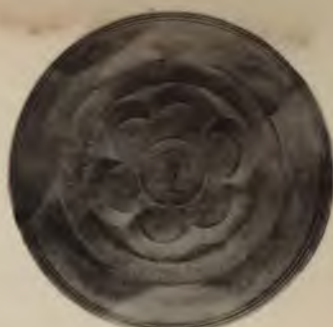
19. COLBY. Silver. Diameter, $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Device: Vernicle. Bust, with straight hair falling on the shoulders. Beard sharply forked. Cruciform nimbus and straight lines of glory in a broad ellipse. Shoulders covered with a mantle, fastened in front with a diamond shaped morse. All within a circle of thirteen short split rays.

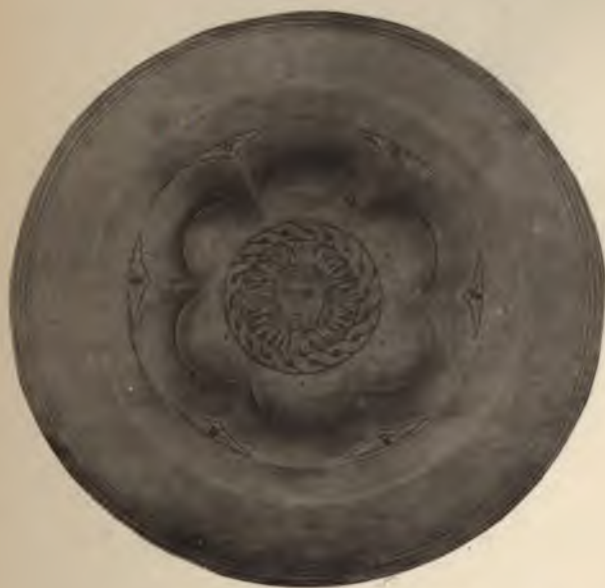
Spandrels, with wavy leaf.



18—CASTON.



19—COLBY.



17—OULTON.



20—WUDDY.



21—GISSING.

— — — — —

Molded edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1520.

TYPE D. Form I.

20. COSSEY. Silver parcel-gilt. Diameter $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Device: Vernicle. Bust, with straight hair falling towards the shoulders. A curled lock in centre of the forehead. Beard doubtful. Diamond-shaped morse in front. Immediately round the head are nine short split rays. All within a plain circle.

Spandrels, with rayed leaf.

Molded edge, partly lost, to rim.

Three hall-marks: (1) Maker's, doubtful; (2) the leopard's head, crowned; (3) a Lombardic capital T, the London date-letter for 1496-7.

TYPE D. Form I.

21. GISSING. Silver. Diameter, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Device: Vernicle. Face only, with long straight hair curled at the ends. Beard forked and curled. Plain cruciform rays to the head, which is unenclosed by any surrounding circle. This treatment of the central device is, so far as is known, unique.

Spandrels wavy, with rayed leaf.

Molded edge to rim.

Three hall-marks on under side of rim: (1) a heart—a well-known maker's mark (as in Cripps' *Old English Plate*, under 1515, in Chronological List); (2) the leopard's head, crowned; (3) date letter (doubtful). [It appears to be a small black letter *ɾ*, the London date-letter for 1514.]¹

TYPE D. Form I.

22. HANWORTH. Silver parcel-gilt. Diameter, $4\frac{7}{8}$ in.

Device: Vernicle. Face only, with long wavy hair.

¹ The marks on this paten were wrongly deciphered by me at vol. ix. 95, and those here given should be substituted.

Beard forked. Face, with cheek marks and wrinkled. Floriated cruciform nimbus to the head, the limits of which slightly exceed a plain enclosing circle.

Spandrels, with varying leaf device, freely treated.

Very slight moulding to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1450.

TYPE D. Form I.

23. HOCKERING. Silver gilt. Diameter, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Device: Vernicle. Bust, with straight hair, curled at the ends. Beard forked. Cruciform nimbus. All within a plain circle.

Spandrels, with seeded flower of three petals.

Molded edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1520.

TYPE D. Form I.

24. HOCKHAM, GREAT. Silver parcel-gilt. Diameter, $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Device: Vernicle. Face only, with long wavy hair, curled at the ends. Beard peaked. Cruciform rays to the head in an ellipse, which exceeds the upper portion of a plain circle, enclosing the device.

Spandrels, with rayed leaf.

Three hall-marks: (1) The maker's, two links of a chain, as on chalices at Leyland, Lancashire; and Jurby, Isle of Man; and on paten at Great Waltham, Essex; (2) the leopard's head, crowned; (3) a small black letter m, the London date-letter for 1509-10.

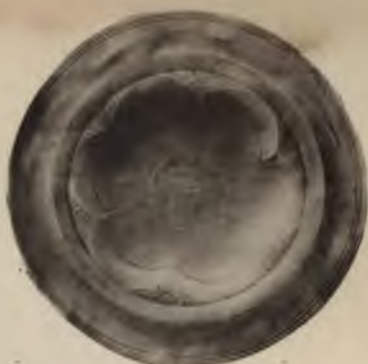
TYPE D. Form I.

25. HOLKHAM. Silver parcel-gilt. Diameter, $4\frac{3}{8}$ in.

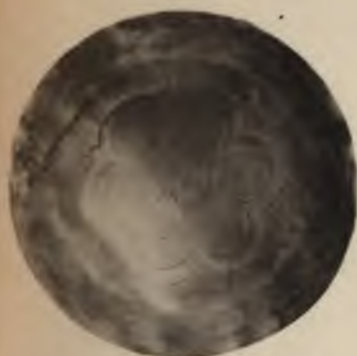
Device: Vernicle. Bust, with long wavy hair. Shoulders in a tunic. All within a circle of fifteen short hatched rays.



22—HANWORTH.



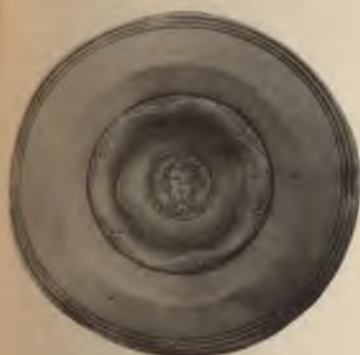
23—HOCKERING.



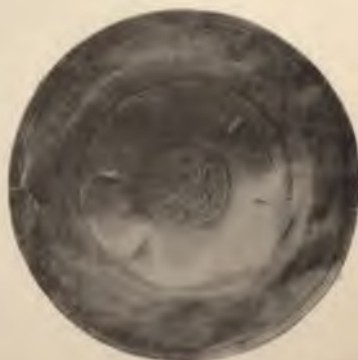
24—HOCKHAM.



25—HOLKHAM.



26—MUNDHAM.



27—SAHAM TONY.

Spandrels, with a wedged leaf.

Molded edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1520.

TYPE D. Form I.

29. SUFFIELD. Silver parcel-gilt. Diameter, $6\frac{1}{4}$ in.

Device: Vernicle [on a separate plate, inserted from behind]. Face only, very small, and with twisted hair which follows the outline of the head. The forehead is wrinkled. Circular nimbus, with straight lines of glory to the head. All within a band of twenty short sharp pointed rays.

Spandrels, with device of seeded flower and double leaf.

Molded edge, with a small beaded ornament to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1480.

TYPE D. Form I.

30. THURGARTON. Silver parcel-gilt. Diameter, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Device: Vernicle. Face only. Hair wavy and twisted, following the outline of the face. Curled lock in centre of the forehead. Centre of beard curled in a lock, the sides drawn off and curled with the ends of the hair of the head. Cruciform nimbus, the three upper limbs only shown, although space for the fourth below the face is unoccupied. All being on a dotted ground, within a plain circle.

Spandrels, with wedged leaf.

No marks.

Edge to rim (partly lost) almost plain.

Date, *circa* 1520 ?

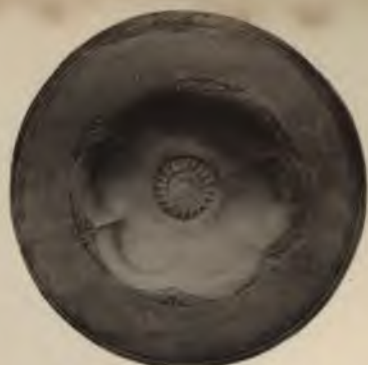
TYPE D. Form I.

31. TITTLISHALL. Silver. Diameter, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Device: Vernicle. Bust, with twisted hair. Beard forked. Shoulders bare. Cruciform nimbus, and straight



28-SHERNBOURNE.



29-SUFFIELD.



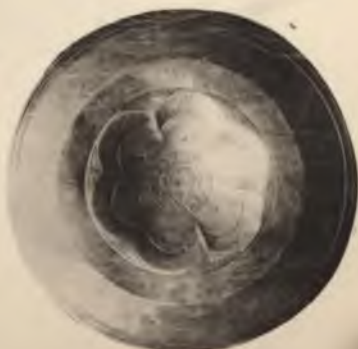
30-THURGARTON.



31-TITTLESALL.



32-NORTH TUDDENHAM.



33-WYMONDHAM.

lines of glory in an ellipse to the head. All within a circle of sixteen short rays. Well designed and engraved.

Spandrels, with rayed leaf.

Molded edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa* 1525.

TYPE D. Form I.

32. TUDDENHAM, NORTH. Silver parcel-gilt. Diameter, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Device: Vernicle. Small and very rude. Bust, with straight hair. No beard or hair on the face. Cruciform nimbus. All within a plain circle.

Spandrels, with rayed leaf.

Very slight molding to edge of rim.

One mark (doubtful), as on Caston paten.

Date, *circa* 1520 ?

TYPE D. Form I.

33. WYMONDHAM. Silver. Diameter, 6 inches.

Device: Vernicle. Bust, with twisted hair, curled at the ends. Beard forked, but blunt. Cruciform nimbus, in an ellipse. All within a circle of sixteen short rays.

Spandrels, with rayed leaf.

Molded edge to rim.

No marks.

Date, *circa*, 1520.

TYPE D. Form I.

Exploration of an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery

IN THE PARISH OF CASTLEACRE, NORFOLK.

COMMUNICATED BY

H. HOUSMAN, B.D., LATE F.G.S.,

*Member of the Chichester and West Sussex Natural History Society; Hon. Corresponding
Member of the East Kent Natural History Society, &c.*

THE parish of Castleacre, near Swaffham, in Norfolk, has long been noted for its antiquarian remains. These comprise the distinct traces of a Roman camp; very considerable remains of pre-Norman earthworks, and of the castle built by William of Warren, to which the village owes its present name; above all, the remains of a priory, founded by the said William of Warren, second Earl of Surrey; and, as if such an inheritance of historical antiquities were not enough for this favoured parish, a fourth object of interest has lately been found to belong to it by the discovery of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

The existence of this cemetery was suspected some years ago, when, on making the hedge and ditch which now form the western boundary of the Priory Field, some cinerary urns, believed to be of Saxon make, were discovered. From time to time since then, urns and fragments of urns have been unearthed by the plough, each discovery adding strength to the supposition that the spot in question was the site of an ancient place of burial. A full and thorough examination of the locality was thus eagerly desired on the part of all who were interested in our national antiquities. At the suggestion of Dr. Jessopp, by the kind help so liberally given by

Mr. Henry Willett of Brighton, and with the kind permission of Mr. W. H. Hudson, of Manor House Farm, Castleacre, the tenant of the field, such an examination was commenced early in October, 1891.

Priory Field, the site of the proposed exploration, lies about a mile and a half to the north-west of the village of Castleacre, bordering on the high road to King's Lynn. It covers the southern side of a gently sloping chalk hill, the surface soil rarely exceeding a foot in depth. The examination was commenced by cutting a shallow trench 3 ft. in breadth, and about 6 ins. deep, and some 30 ft. in length in a straight line, running due north and south. Having taken off the surface of the soil, the workmen were instructed to dig carefully with trowels and other small tools to the further depth of about four inches in search of urns. It was not long before one was found, and the spot was carefully marked as a centre for all further measurements; it was 45 ft. due east of the hedge bounding the Field to the west, and 220 ft. due north of the hedge to the south. This urn was much broken, and it was soon observed with regret that the urns had been deposited so near the surface that in almost every instance the repeated ploughings to which the soil had been subjected had destroyed more or less their mouths and necks, and in many cases shattered them so completely that they fell to pieces at the first attempt to remove them. Eleven feet south of this first urn another was found; a little further on another, and then others, all more or less fractured. At first it was proposed to mark on the plan the exact position of each urn as it was discovered, but owing to the frequency of their occurrence this became impracticable, and, in fact, would serve no useful end. They had been deposited without any regard to order or regularity; sometimes singly, frequently in pairs, sometimes in groups of four or five

close together. Having continued this first trench for about 50 ft., when no more urns were discovered, short trenches running towards the western hedge were dug, which proved even more prolific of urns than the original trench. Scarcely ten minutes ever elapsed without a notice from the workmen that they had come upon a fresh one. Other trenches, parallel to the short one running east and west, were dug at the distance of about 4 ft. from each other, and a few were also dug running east from the first long one, but these scarcely yielded an urn; the heart of the cemetery was evidently to the west of the original trench.

The work of the first four days, October 7th to 10th, having abundantly proved the existence of a Saxon Cemetery in the Priory Field, the next object was to endeavour to ascertain its limits. Trenches were cut, one after another, to the south of the central point, until at a distance of 87 ft. the urns ceased; nothing was found beyond, and thus the southern limit of the cemetery was satisfactorily ascertained.

The Urns.—Considerably more than fifty, including those which had been so shattered by the plough as to have left mere traces of what they had been, were discovered. They were all of coarse pottery, evidently made of the sandy clay of the district, and burnt in smother kilns, giving them the black appearance of the ordinary Upchurch ware. In size they varied from a diameter of 12 inches to that of 7 or 8 inches. With the exception of those which were perfectly plain, and showed no ornament whatever, no two were alike, either as to shape or decoration. About twelve were got out in fairly perfect preservation, and these have since been deposited in the little museum for local antiquities in the Priory. The favourite ornament was a circle, about half an inch in diameter, filled with crossed lines; or a larger one,

containing a cross of four lines, the inner circumference opposite to the angles bearing a small triangular figure. This ornamentation is eminently characteristic of Saxon pottery (Wright, p. 493), and at once distinguishes it from Roman, and it appears to have been stamped, as Dr. Wright observes, with the carved end of a stick. Sometimes large rough flints had been laid upon the mouth of the urn by way of protection. The urns had not been deposited upon the bare chalk, but in every instance upon a bed of mortar some six inches deep, and so deeply were they imbedded in it that it was often a difficult matter to raise them without leaving the bottom of the vessel behind.

Contents of the Urns.—In every case the urns were more or less filled with the surrounding soil, beneath which lay a hardened breccia of comminuted human bones, partly calcined and discoloured by fire. With these human remains some of the urns contained the thin hollow bones of a bird, apparently about the size of a rook. If each urn contained the remains of a human body after cremation, it was remarkable how very small a portion of the skeleton was left after the process. The fragments of the skull seemed remarkably thin and delicate for those of an adult. No trace of a jaw was observed, and only two teeth were found, and these very small ones. It was remarkable how often the tiny land-shell, *Achatina acicula*, had insinuated itself into the urns, and found a habitation among the bones.

In carefully examining the contents of the urns, several small articles, all connected with personal or domestic use, were found. Nothing which would come under the designation of "valuables," such as coin or jewellery, had been deposited with the ashes.

The following is a list of the articles found in the cinerary urns:

1. Bronze knife, 6 inches in length, sharp and pointed

as when made, with the fang for the handle, which, being probably of wood, had perished.

2. Another, 4 inches in length.

3. Four pairs of iron scissors, or, rather, little shears, of Roman pattern. See illustration on p. 409 in Dr. Wright's *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*.

4. Two needles.

5. Four pairs of bronze tweezers, one attached to a wire ring for suspension.

6. Two fragments of glass vessels, one stamped with the letter R.

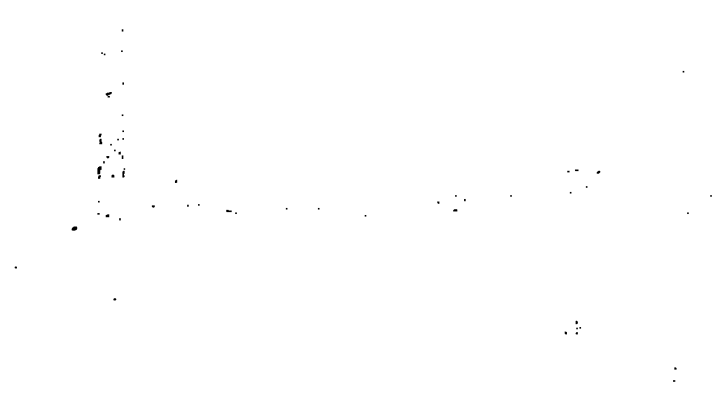
7. Many circular discs of bone, flat on one side and convex on the other; the flat side showing sometimes one and sometimes two shallow holes, not penetrating to the circumference. These curious objects are sometimes called "buttons," which I feel sure is an erroneous designation. They could not possibly have been sewn on, and the one or two shallow holes preclude the idea of their being fastened on in any other way. Neither is there anything about them to suggest that they could have been used as ornaments. My own impression is that they were counters, or "men," for draughts, the Saxons, we are told, being much addicted to that game, and that the holes were merely made in order to give the workmen a firm hold when manufacturing them.

8. On the mouth of one urn was found a large perforated bead of coarse clay, probably the weight for a fishing net.

9. A small yellow bead.

10. Several glass beads. These had been burnt with the body, and were all more or less fused with the soil.

11. The most frequent objects found were fragments of bone combs. On one specimen the body of the comb is most artistically ornamented.



Number of people per room

Number of people



THREE OR FIVES

1872

Castleacre Priory.

COMMUNICATED BY

W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A.

THERE are not many places in England where, as at Castleacre, there may be seen, within a circle of only half a mile in diameter, a Roman camp, an Anglian burh, a Norman castle, a fine medieval church, and extensive ruins of a Cluniac priory, besides some interesting remains of ancient domestic architecture of various dates.

Each of these features presents material for a separate paper (and perhaps an opportunity may occur later for one on the camp and castle), but the subject of the present paper is the Priory of Castleacre.

We learn from William de Warenne's foundation charter of Lewes Priory, the date of which is between 1087 and 1089, that he and Gundrada his wife intended to found at Castleacre a monastery for monks of the Cluniac order, some of whom he had already placed in "the church of our castle of Acre." The new house was to always remain subject to, or a cell of the Priory of St. Pancras at Lewes. Before his death in 1089 De Warenne issued a charter of foundation to the new monastery, and endowed it with various churches and possessions, including the church of Acrep.

William de Warenne the second of the name, on succeeding his father, confirmed the founder's gifts and added others. It seems from his charter that the monks established in the castle had already begun the monastery on its present site, for among De Warenne's gifts were "two orchards and all the cultivated ground from the orchards to my castle, in which by my encouragement and help they have now founded their church, because that in which they now dwell is too strait and very inconvenient for an abode of monks." According to Matthew of Westminster, "the church of the Blessed Mary of Castleacre was founded" in 1090, and Blomefield says it was consecrated by William Turbus,¹ bishop of Norwich, in the lifetime of William de Warenne III., that is between 1146 and 1148.

Later documents throw very little light on the architectural history. The *aula hospitum* is mentioned in an early deed, and others provide for the burning of lamps before the altar of St. Nicholas and the altar of the Apostles.

In 1275 there were thirty-two monks, who had increased in 1279 to thirty-five. The surrender made Nov. 22nd, 1537, is signed by the prior and ten of the monks.

The *Valor* of 1534-5 gives the clear yearly value as £306. 11s. 4½d. It also reckons 10s. as the usual amount offered yearly at the "arm of St. Philip within the monastery."

The priory stands immediately to the west of the village, its site or precinct being an area of about twenty-four acres, gradually sloping down from the lane which bounds it on the north to the river Nar on the south (see plan, Plate IV.) On the east it is bounded by another lane, now called Church Lane, and on the

¹ Turbus, 1146 to 1174. Warenne, 1135 to 1148.

west by cultivated land. The precinct was originally enclosed by a wall, of which considerable portions are still standing on the north and east, and a few fragments on the south. The western line is uncertain.

The entrance to the priory is on the north, through a fine Tudor gatehouse of flint and brick, which is set back about 180 ft. from the highway. The remains of the priory itself stand as nearly as possible in the centre of the precinct, and consist of large portions of the church, especially of the west front and the nave and transepts, of the chapter-house, dormer, reredorter, and frater, while parts of the cellarer's building are still complete even to their roofs. There are also some remains of other buildings on the south-west.

When I first visited the site in 1889 the eastern part of the church, and the sites of the infirmary and other outlying buildings, were only indicated by mounds of rubbish, and the floors of the other portions were buried under several feet of earth and stones.

With the exception of certain excavations made fifty years ago by the Rev. J. H. Bloom, who cleared out the nave and its south aisle, the transepts, and the chapter-house, no systematic examination of the ground plan of the buildings had been made.

Taking advantage of a projected visit of the Royal Archæological Institute during its Norwich Meeting, I was able, through the kindness and liberality of the noble owner, the Earl of Leicester, K.G., to begin the regular excavation of the site at Whitsuntide, 1889. Since then, by the aid of subscriptions collected by the Rev. Dr. Jessopp and myself, and of grants from the Society of Antiquaries and the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, extensive clearances have been made in the church and cloister, and elsewhere, while the undercroft of the dormer has been entirely opened out

through the liberality of Mr. Henry Willett. The result is the recovery of an almost complete plan of a Cluniac Monastery (see Plate IV.), which, besides presenting many interesting features of its own, is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of monastic architecture and arrangement.

The buildings are arranged in the following order round the cloister: on the north, the church; on the east, the chapter-house, and the dormer with its sub-vault; on the south, the warming-house and frater; on the west, the cellarer's lodging with the prior's *camera*. On the north of the transept is the sacrist's checker, and east of the dormer the group of buildings called the infirmary or "farmery." Across the end of the dormer itself is the reredorter, while the kitchen was semi-detached on the south-west of the frater. The outlying buildings will be dealt with in describing the outer court and precinct.

The first of the buildings was, of course, the church. This was planned and carried up quite independently of the other buildings, which are built up against it at the points of junction at the south-west angle and the ends of the transepts without any bond.

The original church of the beginning of the twelfth century consisted of a presbytery of three bays with an eastern apse, and narrow aisles of two bays each, also ending in apses; a central tower; north and south transepts, each with an apsidal chapel; and a nave and aisles of seven bays, with two western towers. Although it was only 200 feet long, the existing remains show that architecturally the church was a building of considerable importance, and despite its small size, with its three towers it must have held a high place among the Norman churches of East Anglia. With regard to its arrangements, a good deal can be made out from cuts and marks left on the piers and walls, and from analogy with

contemporary buildings. There can be no doubt that each of the five apses contained an altar, and although the parishioners of Castleacre had no rights in the church, there was a principal altar in the nave, and at least two others in the nave aisles. The monks' quire was under the crossing, and perhaps extended a little way into the presbytery, and the stalls were returned against a screen at the east end of the nave. West of this screen was another between the first pair of piers, against which stood the nave altar. The altar in the north aisle stood at its east end, but that on the south side was in line with the nave altar, so as to leave room behind it for the monks' entry from the cloister.

Early in the fourteenth century the church was lengthened 32 feet by the addition of three new bays to the presbytery. The east end of the south aisle was also rebuilt, and probably that of the north aisle also, but whatever existed on this side was removed during the fifteenth century, together with the apsidal chapel of the transept, to make room for a large north chapel.

Although the walls of the eastern half of the church are now reduced to only a few feet in height, chiefly on account of the poor character of the masonry, which is in strange contrast to the extraordinary solidity of the Norman work, many interesting features in the arrangements can be made out. The cause of the extension was probably due to a desire for more light, the only windows in the ground-story of the old presbytery being the three windows in the apse. In the new work, besides the east window, which was doubtless a large one, there were six other windows, three on each side. The platform of the high altar was approached by three broad steps extending across the presbytery, and paved with plain yellow, black, and green tiles. The finding of some of these tiles in place

enabled me to fix the levels, but of the altar itself no trace remained. To the west of the lowest step there is on each side a low recess in the wall, with curved back, apparently a seat. The *sedilia* proper were further east, but no trace of them remained, owing to the destruction of the wall. The third bay contains on the south side an almary or locker, and opposite to it an original doorway from without; this, however, was subsequently blocked and turned into a recess. The fourth bay has on each side a deep and wide recess coming down to the floor, and roughly paved with tile. These probably contained cupboards for relics or jewels. Immediately to the west, on both sides, is a skew passage cut through the wall when the presbytery was lengthened, for entry into the quire from the aisles. Between these entrances and the relic cupboards was the step called the *gradus chori* or *presbyterii*. The two westernmost bays, after the lengthening of the presbytery, formed the quire; the monks' stalls being placed on each side, and returned against a stone screen at the west end. Some idea of the importance of the quire stalls may be gathered from the interesting fact that in 1413 (or 1414) master John Waryn, chaplain, and Richard Buk, carver and carpenter, were sent by Mettingham College to Lynn and to Castleacre, to view the stalls there, prior to building new stalls in the collegiate church.²

The excavations were singularly unproductive of relics or architectural fragments throughout the quire and presbytery. Immediately behind the site of the high altar we uncovered the fragments of a coarse earthenware pot which may have contained a heart or the entrails of some person. A trench cut in search of the foundations of the original apsidal end brought to light a stone

² *Archaeological Journal*, vi. 64.

coffin beneath the steps up to the altar, and immediately to the west the foundations of the apse itself.

The *pulpitum* or screen at the west end of the quire was 5 feet 10½ inches deep, but only its lowest course in part remains in place. The use of brick in its construction shews that it was chiefly of fifteenth century work. The entry or quire door has a pavement of plain tiles, and just to the west the site of a grave is marked out by a border of larger tiles.

The removal of the rubbish from the south aisle of the quire, where it was over 7 feet deep, brought to light several interesting features. First was the evidence of the replacing of the original apsidal end by a square chapel which still retained the base of its altar, with a broad sinking in the wall above it for a "table" or reredos. South of the altar is the lower part of the piscina, with a projecting half-hexagonal shaft to contain the drain. Just west of this is a door into a vestry or chapel, apparently an early addition. In the next bay the Norman wall is pierced by two fourteenth century doorways: the first³ had a double door and opened into a covered alley communicating with the farmery; the second opened into a large circular vice or stair, octagonal outside, that probably led to a room over the vault of the aisle. This room was perhaps the treasury, but it may also have contained a pew or closet looking into the quire, like the royal closet at Windsor, or that at St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, where the prior could hear mass without being seen. The westernmost bay of this aisle⁴ had a stone bench against the wall, and over it a recess in the wall like a piscina, but with

³ See Section 1, Plate II.

⁴ Section 2, Plate II., is that of the base of the wall pilaster between this bay and that east of it.

no drain. On the quire side the piers were found standing to a height of some feet. Between them were the bases of two thin parallel walls: that on the quire side formed the foundations of the stalls; the other represented a wall closing each bay behind the stalls, and converting them into two wide and deep recesses, probably to hold presses for books and vestments. The aisle could have been lighted by one window only, that over the altar. The floor was of tiles laid in bands, and cuts in the arch into the transept shew that here was a wooden screen. Both this and the original north aisle were vaulted, but the presbytery and quire had a wooden roof, seemingly covered with tiles, if we may assume this from the quantity of fragments found.

I was not successful, as in the presbytery, in finding under the aisle floor any traces of the foundations of the apse, but it is possible to suggest a reason for its absence. In the case of the presbytery there can be no doubt that the eastern extension was carried up high enough to be covered in, temporarily or otherwise, before the apse was removed, so that the services might not be interrupted; the apse was then taken down to just below the floor level, and its foundations left. In the case of the aisle there was no need to keep the apse up while the new east end was being built, so it was entirely removed to begin with, and then the extensions carried out.

The north quire aisle was replaced in the fifteenth century by a large chapel with vaulted ceiling.⁵ It was three bays long and 19 feet wide, or nearly twice the width of the old aisle. The masonry was of far better character than that of the new presbytery, and all the moulded work was of excellent character. The

⁵ Section 3, Plate II., is that of the vaulting ribs of this ceiling.

walls are now reduced to about 5 feet in height, except at the north-east angle, which stands as high as the springing of the vault. The vaulting shafts are partly recessed in the wall. The chapel had three windows on the north, and one on the east, all filled originally with painted glass, of which many fragments were found outside. The removal of the rubbish inside disclosed large portions of the original flooring of plain yellow and black tiles, in which towards the west end is inserted a stone grave slab (6 feet 5 inches long) incised with a plain cross on steps. At the east end the remains of the flooring shewed that the altar stood on two steps. Against the wall is the base of the altar itself. It is 8 feet 6 inches long, and 2 feet 10 inches wide, and the plain marks on the plaster where the slab touched the wall shewed that its top was 3 feet 3½ inches from the floor, and that the slab, which was 4 inches thick, projected 2½ inches in front and at the ends, and so was 9 feet 1 inch long, and 3 feet 0½ inch wide. In the north end of the altar was a plain recess 14 inches wide, and 18 inches deep, and another in the south end 16 inches wide, and 23 inches deep: their upper parts are unfortunately destroyed. The only altar in which I have found like recesses is that still standing in the chapel of the so-called "prior's house" at Wenlock, also a Cluniac priory. Such an arrangement seems however to have been not uncommon, and we have many representations of altars with a pair of cruets standing in a recess at the end, shewing that these recesses served the purpose of a credence table. To the south of this Castleacre altar are traces of the usual drain and of a projecting seat or sedile. On the quire side of the chapel the two bays behind the stalls were walled off and made into recesses.

The easternmost was probably the place for keeping the jewels and ornaments of the chapel.⁶ The other recess was entered by a narrow door only 21 inches wide, and had a winding stair at its eastern end, probably to a wooden gallery or loft on the top of the stalls. The rest of the recess was perhaps a store-place.

The transepts, which are Norman, are far more perfect than the work east and west of them, and their restoration, architecturally, on paper would not be difficult.

The north transept was 32 feet long, and 25 feet wide, and stands to about two-thirds its full height. On its east side the ground story had two arches: the one opened into the north quire aisle, and later into the north chapel; the other originally opened into a semi-circular apse, but owing to the new chapel being wider than the old aisle, it was taken down and changed into a shallow polygonal recess against which the chapel abuts outside. The recess retains the base of its altar, which is 5 feet 2 inches long, and 2 feet 7 inches wide, and the marks on the plaster shew that it was 3 feet 1 inch high, and stood on one step. The arch has the cuts of a wooden screen that crossed it before the apse was removed, and has in each jamb a later mutilated recess. The arch into the aisle also has cuts for a screen. The blank wall between the arches contains a small square recess, and from the way in which the tile flooring ends at the south there seems to have been a small altar here raised on a step. The north wall of the transept has two doorways in it: a tall one in the middle, with an ascending flight of steps to the outside; and another at the east end, opening into a vice or stair to the wall passages and roof. The west wall had

⁶ The base of the pillar forming the west end of this recess is cut away in places for former screens or fittings.

an arch into the nave aisle, but is otherwise plain. Just to the north of this arch there is built into the wall a vertical rebate for the door of a stone screen or enclosure about 6 feet high. This extended eastward, but not across, as there are no marks of it on the opposite wall, nor of its return against the north wall. The triforium stage has a wall gallery, which on the east side is pierced by two arches opposite others on the inner side opening into the spaces over the apse and aisle vaults. The north side was arcaded, but pierced opposite two windows, which themselves formed openings in an external arcade of intersecting arches. The west side was also arcaded, but pierced opposite a window and an arch into the nave aisle roof; outside, this window is set in the middle of three intersecting arches. The clerestory is much ruined all round, and on the east is entirely gone. The north gable has traces of an intersecting arcade, but nothing to shew how this was pierced. On the west was a like arcade, pierced by three windows.

The south transept closely resembles the north in its main features, especially in the second and third stages. The ground story has, on the east, an archway into the quire aisle and another into the apsidal chapel, which here remains fairly perfect. It has, however, been altered inside to get rid of the curved back, seemingly to make room for a large table or picture behind the altar. There are no remains of the altar itself, and the floor is nearly covered by a great fallen fragment of the vaulted roof. On the south side is a drain, and in the north jamb of the arch from the transept a large almshouse has been cut. The arch has at one time been closed by a massive screen. In the wall between the arches on this side of the transept

there is, at the floor level and partly below it, a small recess, 12½ inches wide and 21 inches deep, with a rebate all round. The back is not vertical, but curves forward at the top, where it is broken away. What this recess was for is not clear. It may have been closed with horn or glass, and held a lamp to light the floor at night, but I do not remember such an arrangement elsewhere, though I have seen lamps placed on the floor for this purpose in large churches. At the north end of the same piece of wall are two cuts in the plinth, as if for a screen. As there are no corresponding marks opposite, this perhaps enclosed an altar, or the cuts may have been made for some piece of furniture. The south wall has a door at its east end into a circular stair, as in the opposite transept, but instead of a central door, there is a large round-headed recess, as if for a tomb, which has been roughly enlarged at the east end. East of this is a locker, and west of it a square cupboard extending down to the floor, with traces of wooden lining and shelves. The west wall has a great hole knocked in it, to the north of which is a wide, shallow recess, with curved back, perhaps for a lavatory. A richly-ornamented lavatory occurs in the same position at Wenlock. The back of this Castleacre recess, Mr. Bloom describes as presenting "the singular appearance of an early English window traced with a pointed instrument upon the stucco while the cement was moist, and still exhibiting evident traces of the colouring with which it was adorned."⁷ Very few traces of this now remain. The arrangements of the triforium and clerestory resembled those of the north transept; but there were no windows in the south triforium, owing to the chapter-

⁷ Rev. J. H. Bloom, *Notices, Historical and Antiquarian, of the Castle and Priory at Castleacre in the County of Norfolk* (London, 1843), 198.

house outside. The clerestory openings were pierced in an arcade of round-headed arches, interesting traces of which remain on the east and south, but on the west the upper part of the wall has fallen.

The transepts had wooden ceilings, and were not vaulted.

Of the central tower nothing is left but the stumps of its piers, three of which stand about six feet high; but the fourth remains to nearly the height of the springing of the arches, though stripped of all its ashlar facing. The north and south arches were once closed by walls or screens; there are also cuts in the bases for other, and perhaps later, partitions. Some of these obviously belong to the time when the quire was under the crossing, but it is not easy to make out their exact sequence.

The nave has unfortunately been much ruined, and almost the whole of the clerestory and triforium have gone. Of nine out of the twelve pillars only the stumps or bases remain, and of two more only the cores are left. The only perfect pillar is that which supports the south-west tower. Although the arcades were alike, the piers carrying the arches were of a different pattern in each bay, and towards the west the work was of a richer character, such pillars as were semi-cylindrical being deeply incised with spiral grooves or a bold fretty or lozengy diaper, like the well-known examples at Durham. From certain irregularities in the plan there seems to have been a distinct break or pause in the work between the third and fourth bays, before it was again taken up and finished, and meanwhile fashion had advanced a step. At the west end is a wide Norman doorway with segmental rere-arch with a rich relieving arch above. The doorway is flanked by three tiers of wall

arcading, and has over it a lofty fifteenth century window, originally of five lights with a transom, but now devoid of tracery. This replaced three tall Norman lights, with probably a wheel window above them. The south aisle has also a door at its west end, and immediately beside it two others, one into a circular stair in the south-west corner of the tower, the other opening from the cloister. There was another entrance from the cloister at the east end of the aisle. Under the north-west tower were also three doors corresponding to those under the south-west tower. That on the north has an ascending flight of steps to the lay folk's cemetery. On the right of the entry of the west door of the north aisle, a square stone set lozengewise in the floor probably marks the site of the holy-water stock. The aisles, unlike the nave, which had a wooden ceiling, were vaulted throughout. The bases of the vaulting shafts shew the same curious variety as the pillars of the arcade, each being totally different from its neighbour. In the south aisle they are mostly torn out for the sake of the material, but in the north aisle I had the satisfaction of bringing to light the entire series from beneath 5 or 6 feet of rubbish. Each aisle was lighted by seven windows. On the north side the Norman windows were openings in a wall arcade of three round-headed arches in each bay (except in the first bay, where there was no arcade); but in the fifteenth century all the windows were enlarged, and the arcade built up flush with the wall. At the same time the pilaster buttresses were cut down. On the south side the windows were higher up, to clear the cloister roof, and some of them, at any rate, do not seem to have been altered.

Although the nave has been so completely ruined, the fortunate preservation of a single remaining bay,

PLATE I.



G. L. Fox,
Sept. 1889

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which forms the north side of the south-west tower, enables us to recover the complete design up to the wall plate. The arches were semicircular, and enriched on both sides with two orders of chevron mouldings. The triforium had two round-headed arches within an enclosing arch, with rich chevron mouldings; and the clerestory, three tall semicircular openings, the middle one wider and taller than its fellows, all with chevron mouldings. The division of the bays was marked by the vaulting shafts, which extended without break from floor to ceiling. The triforium seems to have been lighted by a range of windows. The clerestory windows were pierced in a wall arcade. Some of the holes for the timbers of the nave roof remain in the tower wall. The nave and its aisles, the transepts and crossing, and the quire aisles were all of the same level, and paved with plain yellow and black or green tiles. But at the west end of the nave I uncovered the remains of a very rich pavement of the thirteenth century, of which a beautiful and most accurate drawing made by Mr. G. E. Fox, F.S.A., is reproduced in Plate I. A good deal of the north aisle floor, of yellow tiles, was found in place, and has been covered with turf for preservation.

The arrangements of the nave, as disclosed by existing remains and the recent excavations, are of an interesting character. In removing the accumulated rubbish at the east end, part of the stone wall of the roodscreen, and the base of the nave altar, were found in place. The wall, which crossed the nave from pier to pier beneath the west arch of the crossing, was 26 inches thick, and had on its east side a stone bench 1 foot broad. The base of the altar is 6 feet 3 inches long and 2 feet 3 inches wide. The extent of the platform on which it stood was clearly marked by the limits of the tile floor of

the nave, but the steps themselves had been taken away, and the platform destroyed. The stone jambs of the doors at either end of the screen had also been removed. Besides the cuts made in the bases of the pillars for the ends of the stone screen, there are others of earlier date. The first pair of bases westward have also broad cuts on their inner faces; and grooves for a light screen or grating occur on the second pair of bases. A little consideration of these signs and a comparison of the plans of the church, as now and originally, make all clear. Until the lengthening of the presbytery in the fourteenth century, the monks' quire was under the central tower, and perhaps extended a little way into the eastern limb of the church. The stalls were backed by the walls or screens blocking the north and south arches of the crossing, and were returned at the west end against a screen or *pulpitum* there. A bay westward was a second screen with the rood and its attendant images above, and the nave altar on its west side. The nave altar was protected by a screen or grating crossing the nave at the next pair of piers. There are plain marks in the aisles that they, too, were crossed by screens (probably with altars against them) in line with the roodscreen. The eastern and greater part of the church was thus completely cut off from the western. When the presbytery had been lengthened, all these arrangements were moved eastwards one bay; the quire into the two western bays of the old presbytery; and the roodscreen and nave altar to the east end of the nave. The east end of the north aisle was closed by a wall, which also served as the reredos for an altar. On the south aisle, where the principal entry from the cloister was, a different arrangement was necessary. The Norman doorway was partly destroyed and blocked up, and a new doorway made in its place close up to the

transept wall. A wall was then built obliquely across this end of the aisle, with an altar on its west side. So narrow an entry was thus left from the cloister that the angle of the arch into the transept was cut away to give more room.

In addition to the transverse screens and divisions already mentioned, the numerous cuts in the walls and pillars shew that there were other partitions in the south aisle. The first three arches were closed on the aisle side by solid walls or stone screens, and a similar screen crossed the aisle at the second pillar and converted the two first bays into a chapel. This chapel was itself divided by a wooden screen, as a fence for the altar. The third arch has also traces of another screen on the nave side, perhaps to enclose a tomb at some later period. The fourth, fifth, and sixth arches were filled by wooden screens, and two others crossed the aisle at the fourth and sixth pillars. The aisle was thus divided into three chapels, each of two bays, only the westernmost bay being left open for access from the cloister. The north aisle was comparatively free from divisions. It had an altar at its east end, against the wall closing the arch there, and a wooden screen at the first pillar. The first arch has also the cuts of two screens, a thick stone one, and a later wooden one. The second arch has been closed by a wood screen on the aisle side. The vaulting shaft on the north of the second pillar has slight cuts in it which have been partly filled up again, and close by there are two pin holes, side by side in the pillar, just above the plinth.

Externally the west front is a very fine and rich example of Norman architecture. The central part, which forms the west end of the nave, has in its lowest stage the principal doorway, of four orders with detached jamb-

height. This must have been reached by a wooden stair. It was certainly a living room, for the base of a garderobe shaft which communicated with it is built outside the south-west angle. The roof was of high pitch and partly blocked the transept windows.

From the north-west angle of this building a strong boundary wall, probably Norman, runs northwards for nearly 100 feet. It originally extended as far as a block of buildings of which only a fragment remains. On the east side of the wall, in the angle formed by it and the sacrist's checker, are the foundations of a room about 20 feet square, built of brick, probably a wood store. Beyond this again are the traces of another building of still later date, about 36 feet long and 21 feet wide. There is nothing to shew the use of this.

The ground to the east of this block of buildings may have been a garden, but some of it formed part of the monks' cemetery, which also extended round the east end of the church. The ground to the west formed the outer or lay folks' cemetery. Four graves were found here immediately to the west of the transept (see plan), each containing a stone coffin or cist with its cover. One was that of an adult, but the other three were clearly those of children. The northernmost of a group of three has a curious device, which I do not remember to have seen before. It consists of a longitudinal band or shaft running the length of the lid, and branching out near the head into three pointed lobes, one towards each of the upper corners, and the third vertical in the centre; all in low relief. The fourth grave is separate from the others, and covered by five transverse stones instead of a lid. These coffins have all been covered up again to preserve them. A fifth coffin, also of stone, but without a lid, was found when lowering the ground in front of the north-west tower. During my absence it was unfortunately taken up and

placed under the south-west tower, after its contents had been removed and buried.

The cloister is about 100 feet square, and was surrounded by covered alleys 10 feet 3 inches wide, with lean-to wooden roofs. The wall to the garth was entirely rebuilt of brick and flintwork at the beginning of the sixteenth century, but only the base of it now remains. It contained four large windows on each side, and had small doors into the garth at the south-east and north-west corners. The garth was merely a grass-plot, and so far as could be ascertained by digging, had no laver or conduit in middle, as was sometimes the case. The north alley was practically the ordinary living room of the monks, and has against the church wall remains of a stone bench 21 inches wide, but no existing traces of book-cases or other fittings.² At each end were steps leading up to the church doors. The west jamb of the old Norman east door has a round pin-hole about 5 feet up, and beside the door is a hole as if for a small locker, perhaps for a lamp. The east alley has in the transept wall a wide and deep recess for the book-case known as the *armarium commune*, and next to this a late square-headed locker. Further south was the entrance to the chapter-house, and beyond it the door of the dorter stairs. Two other doors opened into the chambers under the dorter. Just to the south of the dorter door the alley was crossed by a step. The south alley contained two doors: one at the east end opening into the warming house; the other at the west end leading into the frater. I found in this alley a large patch of the original flooring, of large 8-inch yellow and dark

² The removal of the ashlar of the pilaster buttresses has destroyed any traces that may have remained.

green tiles laid diagonally, with wall bands of yellow tiles. Under this at the west end was a shallow drain $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, running diagonally towards the frater door, for carrying off rain water from the cloister garth. The west alley is nearly all gone. At its south end, by the frater door, the remains of a plinth may mark the site of the lavatory, which was certainly on this side. Two gaps in the wall perhaps represent doors into the western range. Beyond the second of these is an inserted door of Perpendicular work, with pointed arch within a square head, and next to the church was once a rich Norman door into the outer parlour, now destroyed on the cloister side, and filled up with brick.

The first of the buildings round the cloister is the chapter-house, which here, as at Wenlock, immediately adjoins the transept. It was originally a handsome and lofty Norman room, with arcaded walls, a barrel vault, and an apse, and 52 feet 6 inches long by 23 feet 6 inches wide. The west end is almost all gone: it had a central door, flanked by two large round-headed unglazed windows, which seem to have been sub-divided; and above were three large windows to light the room. All these windows had moulded arches of two orders on the inner and outer faces. Against each of the side walls was a stone bench, which was returned at the west end and probably carried round the apse. On this stood a low arcade of fifteen arches on each side with continuous mouldings. The arcade was also returned across the west end under the windows. Above it, on each side, was a tall arcade of eighteen intersecting arches, which supported a third arcade of twenty-two low round-headed arches with carved capitals. This arcade was divided by a corbel into two series of eleven arches, and carried a moulded string, from

which sprang the barrel vault. The vault itself has nearly all fallen; it was quite plain, and had no ribs, but was supported midway and at the ends by cross arches. The end arches rested on vaulting shafts, but the central one on corbels. At the east end of the south side is a door from without. This was perhaps the way to the cemetery, since the usual slype is absent, for the daily commemoration of the dead there. A little to the west may be seen one jamb of another door, which was intended to give access to the space under the dorter stairs, perhaps for use as a prison, as at Durham. This idea was, however, abandoned, and the opening was walled up, and the arcade carried across it. Of the architecture of the apse we know nothing, as it was taken down in late Perpendicular times, and its arch underbuilt by a wall pierced with a large window, now destroyed. The start of the apse exists on each side, it having been cut down and converted into buttresses.

Extending southwards 110 feet from the chapter-house was the *dormitorium* or dorter. It was nine bays long, and built as usual, on the first floor, upon a vaulted undercroft. The shell of it still remains in tolerable preservation, and it is not difficult to make out its arrangements. It was reached by a flight of nineteen steps at the north end, opening from the cloister by an enriched doorway which stands upon a step. The door was double, and only one leaf was ordinarily opened, as may be seen from the greater wear on the north half of the steps. Of the steps themselves only the first six remain. The stair was cut off from the dorter at the floor level by a wall 5 feet high. On this rested a floor or loft, which extended over the west end of the staircase for some 15 feet. The window sills were 5 feet from the floor, and had a stringcourse immediately below, now nearly all torn out. On the west side the first four bays had

each a window towards the cloister. These were pierced externally through an arcade of good round-headed arches,³ which stood on a stringcourse about a foot above the cloister roof. There were three blind arches between the windows. The next three bays of the dormer have no windows, owing to the abutment against them of the southern range of buildings. The two last bays have their original Norman windows filled up and cut down for the insertion therein of smaller late Perpendicular windows, with brick rere-arches. On the east side there were originally eight windows; the southernmost bay being unpierced. Of these the seventh and eighth have their Norman heads, and the sixth alone retains its ornamented Norman rere-arch. All these windows have, however, been altered by filling them up and inserting late Perpendicular windows at a lower level, with arches made of brick. A window of the same date has also been pierced through the former blind ninth bay. Externally the pilaster buttresses on this side have been destroyed for the sake of the ashlar. The south wall has disappeared. It had, however, a door or doors on to a bridge to the rere-dormer, formed by a barrel-vaulted passage between the two buildings. Crossing the dormer between the fourth and fifth bays was a partition, and just south of it a doorway in the west wall opens into a small garderobe, which still retains part of the stone front of the seat, and grooves for the seat itself. This garderobe probably marks the position of the prior's or sub-prior's "cell" or cubicle. The monks' cells were, of course, ranged along the side walls.

The undercroft or sub-vault of the dormer was built after the usual fashion as one long apartment, divided down the middle by a row of massive piers. On these, and half-piers against the side and end

³ One of these arches remains in a nearly perfect state at the south end.

walls, rested a series of transverse arches carrying the vault, which had no ribs. The vault itself has long ago fallen or been removed, and nearly all the ashlar work has been picked out from the piers, windows, and doors. During the past summer the accumulated soil and debris, which varied in depth from about 4 to 6 feet, was cleared out of the undercroft at the expense of Mr. Henry Willett, under the supervision of the Rev. Charles Houseman. I had previously ascertained that certain partition walls existed, but the effectual clearance of the rubbish has brought to light the whole of the arrangements.

The first or northernmost bay was completely walled off, and entered from the cloister through a handsome archway of two orders, with detached jamb shafts, and other shafts carrying the soffit. The vaulting shafts were also of an ornate character, but only those against the dorter stair are left. Opposite the entrance was a window. In the floor are two plain slabs of Purbeck marble, which Mr. Houseman ascertained to cover interments. There are no traces of any fittings, except against the eastern half of the south side, where there are some rough foundations for a press or bench. From the position and character of this room there can be little doubt that it was the common parlour, or place where talking was allowed. I do not, however, remember to have seen or heard of this room being used as a burying place.

The second bay was also walled off, and divided into two parts by a cross wall. As there is no opening on the cloister side, the western half must have been quite dark, except for such light as entered through the door, which can only have been on the south side. The eastern half had also its entrance on the south. It has a wide recess on the east, with a bold roll

moulding down the jambs, and over this was a window. The recess was not a fireplace, as the stones shew no signs of fire, and its purpose is uncertain, as is that of both divisions of this bay. The dark part was probably a cellar.

The third bay formed a passage from the cloister to the farmery. Its western entrance has been stripped of all its ashlar, but the opposite end retains the lower part of an inserted doorway of Decorated date.

The fourth bay has no opening on the west, and was lighted by a window on the east, at which end there may have been a door from the farmery passage. The party wall on the south only extends half way, there being no division east of the pier.

The eastern half of the fifth bay thus formed one room with the fourth bay. It has a window on the east, which has either been blocked or diminished. The western half of the fifth bay was shut off by a thick party wall, in which are the grooves for the wooden frame of a door. It was entered on the west from the warming-house by a door with ornamented jambs.

The sixth bay has a party wall on the south, and was entered from the warming-house by an important door. The east window has been enlarged to the full width of the bay, but is now stripped of all its ashlar. Under the window, and partly returned along the south side, are the foundations of a stone bench, composed in part of moulded stones.

Seeing to what a variety of purposes these undercrofts were put, it would be useless to speculate as to the uses of the chambers I have described.

The seventh and eighth bays were shut off from the rest by a thick party wall, and formed one room, which presents several interesting features.

In the north-west corner, and partly formed by the

division wall, is an oblong tank, 10 feet long by 4 feet wide, with another about 4 feet square attached to it on the south. Both tanks are 3 feet deep, with battering sides, and are constructed of chalk and flint masonry, coated all over, inside and out, with a curious hard dark grey cement. The bottom of each has been damaged, as if to extract lead pipes there, and the junctions with the west wall have been broken down to extract the ashlar facing of the vaulting shafts. The tanks are otherwise in good condition. There are no other features about them than what I have described. The room in which they stand was lighted by two windows on the east and two on the west.⁴

The south side was originally a solid wall, inasmuch as it carried the end wall or gable of the dorter above. It was probably pierced by a door or doors, but these were subsequently enlarged into two wide archways or openings into the space outside, which separated the dorter range from the reredorter. This space was at first open at both ends, and covered by a barrel vault, forming a bridge from the dorter to the reredorter. When the south end of the undercroft was thrown into it, the east end of this space was filled up with a wall in which was a doorway.⁵ The west end was also closed, apparently by a furnace or kiln of some sort, of which only very slight traces remain. It is, therefore, not unlikely, as Mr. Micklethwaite has suggested to me after a careful examination of the place, that this part of the buildings was used as a malt-house. The tanks would serve for steeping the grain in; the enlarged floor space afforded plenty of room on which to spread

⁴ The west window of the seventh bay was partly blocked up by the tanks, and that to the east has been blocked or altered.

⁵ In the south wall, near the east end, is a wide and roughly made recess, which, when uncovered, was found nearly full of animal bones.

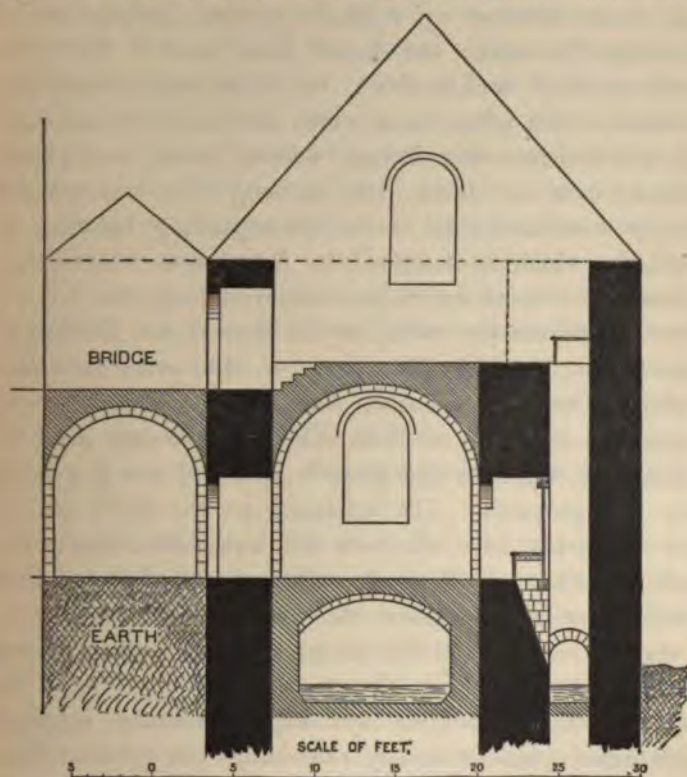
the grain to germinate; and the kiln would be handy for drying it. I was at first puzzled to find an entrance into this place, for the door on the east has been carefully blocked with masonry, and there certainly were no other doors on the east or on the north or west. I subsequently found a doorway on the south, leading into the lower story of the reredorter, and this must have been used as the entrance.

The reredorter itself is of Norman date, and one of the most complete examples that have come down to us. Moreover, all its arrangements can be clearly made out.

It stands on a much lower level than the rest of the buildings, and consists of a basement, a ground story, and an upper floor. (See section.) Its internal length is 91 feet. The basement was divided longitudinally by a thick wall into (1) a broad tunnel or water channel; and (2) a narrow drain. The former had a paved bottom and a segmental barrel vault, which was divided into four bays by transverse ribs or arches. This tunnel was 9 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide and 6 feet 10 inches high to the crown of the vault. The drain is a narrow waterway, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, open up to the first floor, with vertical sides and a flat paved bottom.

The ground story consisted principally of a wide hall extending the whole length of the building, and lighted at each end by a window, with a barrel vault divided by transverse arches into six bays. In the north wall were three original doorways: one in the centre communicating with the dorter sub-vault; another to the east from the area between the dorter and farmery; and a third on the west communicating with the cloister through the warming-house. This last was subsequently blocked up, probably when the malting arrangements were made, and a new door cut obliquely through the wall to the west of it. The south side of the hall

is a partition wall, about 4 feet 3 inches thick, cutting it off from the drain. In it are somewhat irregularly pierced twelve round-headed openings, once faced with ashlar, and probably fitted with doors. The bottom of each recess has the rear half cut down with a steep slope as a shoot into the drain, and faced with ashlar,



SECTION OF THE REREDORTER, RESTORED FROM EXISTING REMAINS.

which has been repaired here and there with brick. The seats rested on stone brackets on each side, many of which remain; and the back of the recess was closed by a wooden partition. (See the accompanying section.) The south wall of the building has nearly all been destroyed

above the floor line of this story; like the corresponding building at Lewes, it was probably pierced at intervals for ventilation.

The upper story communicated with the dorter, also like the Lewes example, by a bridge. It had a window at each end, of which the southern, at any rate, was in late times blocked or reduced in size, perhaps as at Durham, "to make the house more close." The side walls are both broken down, but it is evident from the remains of the gable ends, which are fairly perfect, that all the divisions and fittings were of wood, and placed directly over the drain. (See section.) The arrangement closely resembled that in the corresponding building at Durham, which is described in *Rites* as a "faire large house, and a most decent place adjoyninge to the Dorter, towards the water, for the Monkes and Novices to resort unto, called the PRIVIES And every seate and particion was of wainscot, close of either syde, verie decent, so that one of them could not see one another, when they weare in that place." The roof was a wooden one of high pitch. The buttresses on the north-east of the reredorter have all been cut away flush with the wall, and there are signs of some wooden shed or building having been placed against the wall.

As the river is 400 feet away, and apparently running in its old channel, it is not at first sight easy to see how the reredorter was kept constantly supplied with water; but on closely examining the precinct wall on the east, at about 400 feet from the bottom of Church Lane, I found the remains of the arch of a bridge or tunnel passing under the lane, from whence a depression extended to the reredorter. On the east side of the lane it was difficult to see where the water channel joined the river, but I think the line I have indicated on the O. S. plan (Plate IV.) is approximately correct.

After passing through the reredorter, the stream skirted the kitchen and its yard, then turned towards the south, and again joined the river. There are no visible remains of sluice gates or other provision for damming or diverting the water.

Before proceeding with the description of the other buildings round the cloister, it will be convenient here to examine those east of the dorter. These collectively form the *infirmatorium*, or "farmery" as it is usually called in English, which was the place for the sick and infirm, and for those monks who were temporarily released from the strict observance of the rule. In later days its uses seem to have become much more general. The farmery at Castleacre consists of two large halls, built side by side, but not parallel to each other. That to the north is certainly Norman, and the other apparently of not much later date. The two halls were joined by a passage. Two other passages, $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, connected the north hall with the cloister and the church. All these passages are of Decorated date, and probably replaced others built of wood.

The north hall had three doors: one on the west, which was the chief entrance; another on the north, containing a flight of steps; and a third opposite to this on the south, opening into the passage to the southern hall. At the upper end we found the stone step of the dais, with a rebate for the tile floor. A projection at the south end of the dais probably marks the place of a wall pulpit. It is possible that this hall in late times was used as the *misericorde*, where the monks might eat meat.

The passage to the southern hall has on its east side a wide doorway into some building, of which we could find no traces, and in the south end of the same side was another but smaller door. At this end the passage

suddenly widens out westward to double its first width, to cover the second of two doorways into the southern hall.

This hall is in the main of late Norman work, but the doors are fourteenth century insertions or alterations, and a large fireplace was added at each end at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The diagonal buttresses are also additions: that on the south-east of the fourteenth century; that on the south-west when the fireplace was inserted. The hall was divided midway by two parallel partition walls into two great chambers. The eastern chamber has a door in its south wall, and a blocked Norman door in the south-east corner. From the south door to the fireplace at the east end was a stone bench against the wall. In the north-east corner are the jambs of two doors, which were originally intended to afford ingress from the north and east respectively, but they were abandoned and walled up during the course of the building. Between the partition walls dividing the hall was a flight of stone steps ascending southwards. At the foot of the stairs was a small lobby, and under them on the south was a door with wooden frame from the western chamber. The stairs led to the upper floor of a long narrow building, extending as far as the stream, where it terminated in a garderobe with two vertical shafts. The lower story was probably a storeplace. The western half of the hall has two entrance doorways opposite to each other at its east end, and a large fireplace at the upper end. Both halls have unfortunately been so ruined that it is impossible to say how they were actually lighted or what were their precise uses. It is also a question whether, at any rate, the southern hall had an upper floor. A fragment of its north-west angle, which is standing to some height, shews no signs of one, and

the thinness of the walls is proof that one was not contemplated originally. On the other hand the two halls and such adjuncts as have been traced and planned do not form an infirmary capable of affording much accommodation. The area between the two halls west of the connecting passage was enclosed on the west by a wall and was perhaps a garden or court with pentices on the south and west sides;⁶ it was entered from the western extension of the connecting passage. To the east of the farmery there seem to be traces of a large garden laid out in terraces on the slope of the hill.

Returning from the farmery to the cloister, there is immediately on the left the eastern of the two doorways in the south alley. This was of some importance, with an ornamental head of two orders carried by jamb shafts. It opened into an oblong room placed between the dorter and the frater, and of good height, lighted by one window on the north, and originally by two on the south. The left side of the entrance is now torn away through the destruction of a garderobe pit that intervened between it and the dorter wall. This pit has on its south side a rebated sill for a door, by means of which it could be cleaned out when necessary. On the east side of the room are two doorways into two adjoining chambers beneath the dorter, the use of which is not known. Both doorways have been robbed of nearly all their ashlar work, but the lowest portions of both remain and shew that the northernmost door was ornamented with the trowel-point ornament, and the other with a bold roll moulding round the outer and inner

⁶ If the southern half had an upper floor, there may have been a gallery over the western pentice, extending also over the farmery passage as far as the church.

arches. The south end of the room has been altered. Originally it had a doorway opposite the entrance, ornamented with a roll moulding. This opened on to a wooden bridge, placed under a pentice against the dorter wall, and leading direct to a similar doorway in the ground-story of the reredorter. When the end of the dorter sub-vault was turned into a malting-house, the drying kiln intruded upon the bridge, which was accordingly moved a few feet further west, and new doorways made at each end of it; the old doorways were then blocked up. The pentice was at the same time widened so as still to cover the bridge. A direct covered way was thus provided from the cloister to the reredorter. The west end of the room is a plain wall of division between it and the frater.

As to the use of this apartment there can be little doubt, notwithstanding the absence of any visible trace of a fireplace, that it was the *calefactorium* or warming-house, where the monks could come and warm themselves in cold weather. There are, as usual in such rooms, no signs of any fittings, and as there was no upper floor, no difficulty arose to prevent the smoke from an open brazier in the middle of the room escaping through a louvre in the roof. Before leaving this room it should be noticed that a broad strip of the east wall has been despoiled of its facing, perhaps because there was a wall arcade here; a similar strip, but narrower and shorter, occurs in the south end of the west wall.

The rest of the south side of the cloister is a plain wall with the base of a wide doorway at its west end, with certainly two jamb shafts on each side. It opened into the *refectorium* or frater, a large and lofty hall, 96 feet long in all, and 28 feet wide, which flanked this side of the cloister.

The frater is unfortunately much ruined, and although the walls are still standing to a considerable height, they

tell us very little of its architecture and arrangements. The windows in the north wall were set at intervals in an external wall arcade, in continuation of that on the west side of the dormer. The wall was also pierced with a gallery at the level of the window sills,⁷ so there was probably an internal arcade also. How far the south side corresponded with the north we cannot tell, as the wall is too far ruined, but at its west end is the base of a small circular stair, with an external door only, that evidently gave access to wall passages on both sides, so that the arrangements were probably similar. In neither side wall is there any trace of the pulpit from which the weekly *lector* read during meals.

As the area of the frater was not excavated, save at its west end, we have no information as to its arrangements. But from the position of the door it is clear that the usual passage into which it opened, commonly called "the screens," divided the hall into two very unequal parts. The eastern part, or frater proper, was about 75 feet long, and was probably entered by two doors in the screen or partition at the west end. At its upper end would be the dais. The part west of the screens was about 12 feet long, and may have been divided into the buttery and pantry. In the west wall, near its south end, is the lower part of a large recess or locker. Over the screens and buttery, etc., was, doubtless, a loft or gallery.

As there was no doorway into the frater, save that from the cloister, it is difficult to see how the food was brought in from the kitchen.

Before, however, discussing this point, it will be convenient to describe the remains of the kitchen and its approaches. The kitchen stood obliquely and detached on the south-west of the frater, on a much lower level,

⁷ The blind end of this remains at the east end of the north side.

and from so much as could be excavated seems to have been 32 feet square; but so little is left that nothing can be made out as to its arrangements. The character of its masonry points to its reconstruction at a late date. It was approached from the main buildings by a low passage, 21 feet long and about 10 feet wide, covered by a barrel vault. This was built outside of and against the west wall of the frater, and gave direct access from the kitchen to the cellars. Just inside the south end of this passage was a doorway into a small lobby at the foot of the spiral stair at the south-west corner of the frater. I am inclined to think that the back wall of this little lobby was pierced with the dresser window, through which food was passed into the frater, especially as there is no other place where such an opening could have been. There may, of course, have been a bridge from the kitchen, supposing it stood upon a basement, but no signs of such a connexion can be seen on the frater wall, which is here high enough to have shewn them.

The western range of buildings originally consisted of a single block, about 105 feet long, and two stories high, with a porch projecting from the middle of the front. The ground story was divided into seven bays, but the northernmost was walled off from the rest and formed a separate apartment. This, which is still fairly perfect, is a fine and lofty apartment,⁸ 26 feet long and 17 feet wide, with a plain barrel vault without any ribs, springing from a rich stringcourse ornamented with sunk semicircles. This stringcourse is also carried across the west wall, and round the heads of the doorways. In the north wall is a handsomely-moulded entrance doorway of two orders, with voluted capitals to the detached jamb shafts. Beside this, on the east was a small square-headed

⁸ A deep deposit of rubbish upon the floor unfortunately detracts greatly from the height and appearance of the room.

loop, now blocked; and west of it a like window, but of larger size and widely splayed, a fourteenth-century insertion. At the east end is a rich doorway into the cloister, with chevron mouldings, but now blocked and much injured on the cloister side. The south side had no original openings, but two holes have been cut through it in modern times. The west end has in the centre a Norman window, now blocked, with a rich entrance doorway⁹ on the north. South of the window is a wall-locker.

There can be no doubt that this was the outer parlour, or chief entrance to the cloister from without, where the monks could talk with their friends or transact any necessary business; and, as at Durham, it was "a place for marchannts to utter ther waires."

The remaining six bays formed a great cellar, 78 feet long and 26 feet wide, divided into two alleys by a central row of cruciform piers, upon which and the side and end walls rested square-edged semi-circular arches. Each of the twelve divisions thus formed was covered by a quadripartite vault without ribs. The walls are now much broken down, and the whole of the vaults has gone, but enough is left to show the original arrangements. The north end, which abutted against the parlour, has a blank wall. The east wall, being towards the cloister, has no windows in it, but there is a later doorway, now blocked, in the northernmost bay, and two gaps further south may represent doorways. One half of the south end was overlapped by the frater; the other contained an opening into the passage, by which stores were taken to the kitchen. Five bays of the west wall were pierced by windows, of which remains exist: they were little more than loops, but some have been altered or

⁹ Just outside this doorway, on the north, is a shallow niche in the wall, perhaps for holy water.

widened in later times. The third bay from the north had a wide arch into the porch, now filled by a modern partition. The porch retains its original vault, of two bays with keeled ribs springing from corbels. The entrance arch on the west is carried by half-columns with voluted capitals.

The whole of this block was under the charge of the cellarer, who kept his stores in the basement and housed in the upper story such guests as were assigned to his care. The upper story seems to have been reached by a circular vice or stair, entered from without, placed in the north-west corner of the cellar (into which it projects) at its junction with the parlour (see plan). This stair gave access to a chapel over the parlour and to the cellarer's hall, etc., which occupied the rest of the range. The chapel will be described presently in connexion with the later changes in this part of the priory. Of the hall, etc., practically nothing now remains, save the room over the porch, and this has been completely altered and modernized; it was, however, probably a sleeping chamber opening out of the hall. The hall had, doubtless, a bridge to, or some such communication with, the kitchen at its south end, but no traces of this are left.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries extensive alterations and additions were made in the cellarer's building, which can only be followed by careful study of the existing remains. The first work seems to have been the addition of a large two-storied building on the west side of the parlour, equal to it in length, but somewhat wider. The ground story was divided lengthways by a wall, and each of the divisions thus formed is vaulted into two bays with simple diagonal and wall ribs, springing from corbels in the angles, and from half-octagonal piers against the side walls. The eastern half of the party wall has been taken away, but most of the western half remains, with

the jamb of a doorway at its west end. The two northern bays have been divided by a party wall, thus forming two inner rooms. The easternmost has a window on the north, and may have been an adjunct to the parlour, with which it was in direct communication. The westernmost was entered by the doorway above described: it has one window on the west and another on the north, beside which is a fireplace,¹ with a large locker on the left of it. The two southern bays always formed one room, entered by a wide doorway towards the east with depressed head. There was a second but smaller entrance near the west end, from a building there, now destroyed. In the west wall is a square-headed window with four-centred rear-arch, and high up in the south wall is a very small window, now blocked. This basement was originally built, at any rate in part, as a cellar or storeplace, but it also served as a porch to the entrance to the circular stair already mentioned, which was purposely included within it, and furnished with a new pointed head.

Before describing the upper story it will be convenient to follow the other changes in the basement of the cellarer's building.

With the exception of the blocking up of its west window, now rendered useless by the building outside it, the outer parlour remained unaltered. In the great cellar an important alteration was made in the second bay. Here the two quadripartite vaults were taken down, and replaced by two strong barrel vaults running north and south (still standing), resting on additional masonry against the side walls and a thick party wall in the middle (see plan). On the south these vaults do not extend as far as those they replaced, but are stopped against a wall built right across the cellar a little beyond

¹ This fireplace may be a later insertion.

the middle of the bay.² The portion of the cellar thus walled off was probably entered by a new doorway on the west. The new party wall has two openings in it; one now blocked, apparently a window (though of questionable utility); the other of doubtful use and date. To the reason for this change we shall come presently. Of any further alterations in the remaining bays there is now no trace.

Abutting on the west wall at the extreme end of the range are the remains of a narrow building, 26 feet long and about 6 feet wide, of Decorated date.³ At its west end is a fine entrance doorway with continuous mouldings (Plate II., section 4), with the dripstone ending in well-carved kings' heads. Immediately within is a recess on the right hand for the door to swing back into, and just beyond, on each side, is a doorway (Plate II., section 5) opening outwards⁴ into offices now removed. These offices seem to have been of wood; that on the south probably led to the kitchen.

From its form and position there can be little doubt that this building contained a new and more convenient staircase to the guests' hall than the vice near the parlour door. The stairs have long disappeared, and their site is now filled by out-houses, etc. The staircase opened directly into the hall, or rather into the partitioned-off part, at its south end, which was called "the screens." The hall was now shortened by carrying up the new division in the cellar, mentioned above, thus reducing its length to

² These changes necessitated the blocking up of the window on the west that lighted the bay.

³ This building has been most unaccountably overlooked, although standing to a considerable height. In Britton's plan it only appears in a rudimentary form, and was so copied by Mr. Bloom; Mr. Harrod and Mr. Willins omit it altogether.

⁴ The heads of both doorways have been destroyed.

56 feet, inclusive of the screens, the width of which cannot now be recovered, owing to the destruction of the main walls. The jamb of a Decorated window against the south-east corner of the porch alone remains, to shew that the hall was rebuilt or reconstructed in the fourteenth century. On the other side of the division wall considerable remains exist of the contemporary alterations made there. This part was divided into two floors,⁵ which contained rooms of some importance. The first floor was one large room, about 27 feet long and 19 feet wide, divided by its ceiling beams into three bays. On the south was, apparently, a wide window looking into the hall; on the west is a fine four-light square-headed window, still quite perfect, even to its saddle bars, with the labels ending in lions' heads; on the east was a similar window, but this and the whole east wall fell down a few years ago. In the middle of the north wall is a fine large fireplace, ornamented with four-leaved flowers in the hollows of its mouldings; on either side of this is one of the corbels that carried the wooden ceiling. There are also three doorways: one on the north, opening into the chapel above the parlour; another in the north-west corner, opening into a skew passage⁶ to the room west of the chapel; and a third in the south-west corner, opening on to a bridge thrown across the corner, outside, to the chamber over the porch. The only way into this room from the hall seems to have been through the chamber over the porch and across the bridge. Early in the sixteenth century an additional stair was made by inserting a large circular vice in the north-east angle. This did not, however, communicate with the outside, but led down to the cloister, so that whoever occupied these rooms

⁵ Exclusive of the cellar below.

⁶ To carry this the wall is corbelled out externally over a moulded arch resting on large heads, thrown across the angle.

might have easy and direct access to the church.⁷ Of the upper floor all that is left is part of the west wall, with the remains of a Decorated window.⁸ Beside this is a small door, through which the room was reached by an ascending stair above the bridge from the upper floor of the porch. When these rooms were made the old stair at the south-west corner of the parlour was stopped up.

Both the chapel and the extension west of it have undergone alteration since the fourteenth century, and it is therefore not easy to make out their original arrangements with certainty. The chapel was reached at first by the vice at its south-west corner; but, when this was afterwards stopped up, a new entrance was made from the room on the south. This remains, but is now blocked externally. The chapel has at its east end a recess, 17 feet 3½ inches wide and 6 feet 9 inches deep, covered by a broad semi-circular Norman arch rising from a stringcourse, which is also carried across the east wall. The arch is moulded on its edge, and one of the members has a curious ornament like a row of cones stuck one into another. The recess is raised one step above the rest of the chapel, and is paved with tiles; within it stood the altar upon another step now removed. The original window has been replaced by a wider one of three uncusped lights with intersecting tracery. On each of the window jambs are traces of a painted figure of a bishop, abbot, or prior, with crosier, etc., with a border of lions of England. There are remains of other painted decorations on the east wall, but only a diaper of the monogram *ih̄s* can with certainty be made out. There is no piscina. In the north wall of the recess is a small four-centred

⁷ The steps of this stair have been used to form the present flight of steps up to the prior's chapel.

⁸ The east side, now fallen, was like unto it.





CASTLEACRE PRIORY, NORFOLK.



CTIONS OF MOULDINGS, $\frac{1}{4}$ LINEAR.

doorway with brick jambs of Perpendicular date, now blocked; it originally opened into the staircase in the corner of the south-west tower.

The north side of the chapel retains externally its Norman stringcourse and pilaster buttresses, but the windows have been replaced by two fine square-headed ones of two lights of Decorated date.⁹ The jambs of these are carried down to the floor. In the south wall, just outside the altar recess, a beautiful Decorated sedile has been inserted, with a straight-sided cinquefoiled and double-feathered canopy, with panelled and crocketed side shafts and pinnacles. Two finely-carved corbels of this date also remain: one with a diapered shield of Warrene (*checky or and azure*); the other with a shield of *France Ancient and England quarterly, with a label of five points*.¹ Both shields retain their original colouring and gilding, but have been re-used as roof corbels in Perpendicular times. Towards the west end of the south wall is the inserted Decorated entrance doorway. The west wall of the chapel has been taken down, probably in Tudor times, and on its line stand two late Perpendicular fireplaces back to back: one in the chapel; the other, which is also the larger, in the room beyond.² These fireplaces have bricked hearths with stone curbs, and nearly flat four-centred heads, around which is carried, in each case, a deep hollow moulding (Plate II., section 9), painted red, and originally filled with carved leafwork, painted green; but this has been wantonly broken out. The space south of the fireplaces is crossed

⁹ The westernmost of these has been mutilated and cut down to make the present entrance, which is reached by a modern flight of steps made out of the stones of the circular stair before referred to.

¹ These are probably the arms of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, but there are now no traces of any charges on the label.

² The larger fireplace is probably the successor of an older one, built in or against the west wall of the chapel, and of course destroyed when that was removed.

by a partition. The space on the north formed a passage into the western chamber, and has a curious arrangement of shelves and recesses in its south side. The chapel was originally 27 feet long and 18 feet 10 inches wide, but was extended about four feet westward, when the end wall was taken down.

The room west of the chapel is of ample size, being about 26 feet long and nearly 24 feet wide. It was entered, as has been said, by a skew passage at its south-east corner, with four-centred doorway. Another small door, also with a four-centred arch, on the same side, but at the west end, led to an outer chamber, now destroyed. The east side is taken up by the large fireplace above described. On the west is a square oriel window, carried down to the floor, of six cinquefoiled lights. This is of late fifteenth century work, and is carried externally on a bold corbelled-out bracket with double-ressant mouldings, and ornamented above and below the lights by a band of five sunk quatrefoils. Under the lower band projects the head of an old man in full relief. At the west end of the north wall is a door that originally led into a garderobe set askew to the main building. This is now destroyed, but the pit at its north end, as well as its foundations, remain underground.³ On the left hand of the garderobe door, in the west wall, is an interesting lavatory with a trefoiled head. It has a shelf at the back for the little cistern, and a wide basin in front with shelving bottom and drain to outside. The middle of the north wall is pierced by a wide and depressed late-Perpendicular arch, opening into a large semi-circular oriel of the same date, of nine uncusped lights, divided into three groups of as many lights each. Just below the base of the lights, internally, runs a

³ See plan. It is also shewn, as it remained in 1771, in the illustration on p. 152.

continuous stone shelf. The oriel is carried down to the floor, and has lost its original ceiling.

Externally the oriel is supported by a buttress of considerable projection, upon which rest two moulded transverse arches or squinches of Decorated date (Plate II., sections 6 and 7). These are segmental in form, and have beneath them smaller transverse pointed arches. Upon this Decorated base is a series of bold corbelled-out mouldings (Plate II., section 8) of the same date as the oriel, which rises from them. It is quite clear, therefore, that originally there was a Decorated oriel in the same place, which, if we may judge by the mouldings of its supporting arches, was a work of considerable architectural merit. Unfortunately, there is nothing else left to shew its form, size, or design.

In the fourth volume of Parkin's continuation of Blomefield's History,⁴ published in 1775, is the following interesting account of the glass formerly in the oriel:—

"In a large room above stairs, called now the prior's dining-room, is a curious bow-window of stone, consisting of 9 pannels;—in the first, were the arms of the priory, painted on the glass; in the 2d, the arms of the earl of Arundel, and Earl Warren, quarterly, but now broke and gone; in the 3d, Mowbray, duke of Norfolk—gules, a lion rampant, argent;—4th, the red and white rose united, and a crown over it;—5th, France and England quarterly;—6th, the rose, &c., as above;—7th, Earl Warren's arms;—8th, quarterly, the earl of Arundel in the first and 4th quarter, and in the 2d and 3d, Matrevers, sable, fretty, or, and Fitz-Alan, baron of Clun, p. fess, azure and argent, quarterly;—9th, argent, a cross compony, or and azure, between 12 cross crosslets, fitché, sable; the priory arms, as I take it, and these letters, *I.W.* joined together by a knot, and under it *SPITV. PRINCIPALI CONFIRMA. ME.* By this it appears that this window was built by John Winchelsey, prior in the reign of H. VII. or VIII."

⁴ Rev. Francis Blomefield, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, continued from vol. iii. p. 678, by the Rev. Charles Parkin (Fersfield and Lynn, 1739, etc.), iv. 497.

The whole of this glass has long disappeared, and until the recent excavations, all the lights were bricked up, except the three central ones. They have since been opened up and glazed by the Earl of Leicester. The western oriel, which was bricked up, has also been opened and reglazed.

Both the chapel and the room west of it are covered by an original fourteenth century crossed-rafter roof of high pitch, with continuous ridge, but as the two chambers have not the same width, the roof of the chapel does not cover it symmetrically. At the same time that the Tudor fireplaces and oriel were built, the old roof was underdrawn by a nearly flat wooden ceiling, with moulded beams and curved braces. The whole of the beams and the intervening boarding were painted white, and powdered with slipped roses, red and white alternately on the beams, and red only on the boarding. The whole arrangement is shown in Plate III. (restored), from a beautiful drawing by Mr. George E. Fox, F.S.A. A good deal of this ceiling has now disappeared, but what remains still bears traces of its original decoration. The ceiling was symmetrically placed in each chamber, so the irregularity of the chapel roof did not appear within.

In the plan given by Britton in his *Architectural Antiquities*,⁵ the western half of the chapel is shown partitioned off to form a small room, leaving only a narrow passage-way on the south. The studwork is described as "adorned with a profusion of red roses with their leaves, on a white ground, in water colours." There are now no traces of this partition, but it was evidently part of the Tudor alterations of the building, and bore the

⁵ John Britton, *The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain* (London, 1812), iii. 15*.



CASTLEACRE PRIORY, NORFOLK.—PART OF F

same decoration as the remaining portions of the ceiling. The room was very probably the prior's bed-room.

Most of the external features of this block have already been noticed. It should, however, be noticed, that the lower part of the Decorated addition is faced with cut flints, but the upper with small uncut flints with thin tile courses. Just to the west of the round oriel, the cut-flint facing is carried up to the roof. The western gable is stepped with brick, probably of Tudor date.

Early in the fifteenth century the porch of the western range was extended westwards to twice its former length by a handsome addition, two stories high. The new west wall has a wide four-centred arch, with square label and blank shields in the spandrels, flanked originally by two niches⁶ and traceried panels inlaid with flint. Similar panels are let into the buttresses. Above the arch is a deep band of ashlar and flintwork checkers, and over that a fine four-light window with embattled transom. This lights the room on the first floor, which has also two three-light windows at the sides. This addition retains its high pitched roof, but all the internal arrangements are modern. Against the south wall, externally, is a chimney breast, which may be original. East of it, in the Norman part of the porch, a small two-light Decorated window has been inserted on the first floor; and above this is a pointed loop on the second floor. The upper part of the Norman porch now has a gabled roof standing north and south, of no great age. But originally it seems to have been carried up higher, and to have formed a tower of three stories. On the north side of the extension of the porch was another building, perhaps of the same date, connecting it with the earlier extension of the north end of the range. This has been pulled down during the last fifty years,

⁶ The northern niche has been destroyed.

but is shown in Byrne and Hearne's view, drawn in 1771,⁷ part of which is given in the accompanying illustration.

These alterations and additions to the western range of buildings were, no doubt, made to provide more room for guests. In earlier times these were generally either tramps, for whom there was accommodation in the "casual ward"



Part of a view of the western range of buildings, reduced from an engraving published by Hearne and Byrne, 1778 ($\frac{1}{2}$ linear).

near the gate, or persons of quality who were the guests of the prior; but in the fourteenth century the growth of the mercantile and commercial element led to a corresponding increase in the number of merchants and other middle-class travellers, for whom the cellarer had

⁷ T. Hearne and W. Byrne, *Antiquities of Great Britain* (London, 1785), i., pl. iii.

to find room. The later additions (to the porch, etc.) show that this increase was going on in the next century. By the end of the fifteenth century the demands on the prior's hospitality would also appear to have grown, for the rooms adjoining the church were then appropriated by or assigned to him, and converted into his *camera* or lodging. A new and ample staircase placed him in direct communication with the cloister, and a small doorway from his chapel enabled him to visit the church at any time. The hall and porch chambers were probably now reserved for the prior's guests, and accommodation provided elsewhere for those in charge of the cellarer.

On reference to the plan, it will be seen that the west wall of the garderobe of the prior's *camera* is continued in a north-westerly direction as far as another building, of which only a part has been traced. Some distance west of this are some fragments of walls, which may belong to a building shown by Grose, in 1771,⁸ as a pigeon-house, with a large blocked arch on the east side. It is not improbable that, as suggested by Mr. Harrod,⁹ this may have been a gate-house. In that case it most likely stood in the middle of a range of buildings containing lodgings for guests, and forming a division between the inner and outer courts of the monastery. Such an arrangement would correspond closely with that described as existing at the sister house of Daventry, which also had two gate-houses, one into the "utter court," the other into the inner court, which was "a feyr large court and cumpassed round abowte with buyldynges wherein is comprehendyd the haull w^t divers chaumbers, the buttere, the kechyn, the pantr' with all

⁸ Francis Grose, *The Antiquities of England and Wales* (London, 1774), vol. ii.

⁹ *Gleanings*, 124.

other howsez of office.”¹ At Castleacre these buildings formed the eastern side.

On the south side are the remains of a large group of buildings which have not been excavated. Roughly speaking, they form three sides of a large yard or court. The principal building, that on the north, was 18 feet 6 inches wide, and two stories high, divided into four bays externally by buttresses of good construction. The ground story had a door at each end and four windows, one in each bay, on the north side. The south side is nearly all broken down, but had a door at its west end. The upper story had a wooden floor, but none of its arrangements can now be made out. To the west of this building was another of the same size, but the remains of it and of the buildings forming the west and south sides of the yard are almost entirely buried, and cannot be planned without being first excavated. The entire group probably contained the stables and other offices.

Of the buildings of the “utter court” only the gate-house now remains. Until 1838 there stood just within this on the west a fine garner or barn, over 100 feet long, with open roof of peculiar construction. A view of the interior was published by Mr. Bloom.² The present barns are built upon its site.

The gate-house is an interesting example of the beginning of the sixteenth century. It stands east and west, facing the road, from which it is set back some distance, and is built entirely of brick. It is oblong in plan, about 43 feet long and 25 feet wide, and of two stories. The ground story is divided by an archway into two unequal parts. The eastern part was subdivided by a partition (now destroyed) into (1) a passage for foot

¹ Sir William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. Caley, Ellis, and Bandinel (London, 1817, etc.), v. 184.

² Plate facing p. 257 of his work.

passengers and (2) a porter's lodge. The passage was nearly seven feet wide, with a four-centred doorway at the north end and an open archway at the other end. Over the doorway is a sunk panel containing a sculptured shield of the priory arms: (*argent*) a cross *checky* (*or* and *azure*) between twelve crosses-batonny *fitchées* (*sable*).³ The porter's lodge has a square-headed window, originally of two lights, on the north and south, and a smaller one on the east, and was entered by a door in the partition. In the north-east corner is a fireplace, and in the side walls two recesses or lampsteads. The western half of the gate was also subdivided by a partition (now gone) into (1) a passage about 12 feet wide for carts and other vehicles, and (2) a room or recess. The passage has at each end a wide and lofty arch with pointed segmental head, of which the northernmost retains the hooks for the great gates that closed it. The recess on the west side of the partition was probably a waiting place. It has a broad window on the west, with the sill cut down to form a bench, and a smaller window looking north. To the south of it is a wide circular stair that led to the upper floor. This formed apparently one large chamber, but is too much ruined to show any subdivisions or traces of its arrangements.⁴ On the north face of it, under the windows, is a row of four sunk panels containing sculptured shields of arms. These are, counting from east to west:

1. Fitzalan (*gules, a lion rampant or*) quartering Warenne (*checky or and azure*).
2. The Royal Arms: *France modern and England quarterly*.
3. Warrenne.

³ Shewn in the corner of the plan, Plate IV.

⁴ Mr. Bloom (p. 183) says it was divided into two rooms, "each lighted by four windows, with a narrow passage of communication on the southern side of the wall."

4. Maltravers (*sable, fretty or*).⁵

Between the remains of the two upper windows on this front, is a fifth, but smaller panel, now empty.

It will be noticed that the arms on the gate-house are identical with those described as formerly existing in the north oriel of the prior's lodging, which was built by Prior Winchelsea at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The gate-house is clearly also his work. The royal arms are therefore those of Henry VII., and the other three shields those of former lords of Castleacre who were benefactors to the priory.

There were evidently some buildings to the south-east of the gate-house where the wall running up from the transept abuts against an existing fragment, but their extent is not known.

In the extreme north-east corner of the precinct are the remains of a small fifteenth century chapel, now turned into a cottage. Only its north and east walls are left, and the former has a blocked pointed window with flint and stone checker work below. Mr. Harrod⁶ concludes, on the evidence of an old plan in which the surrounding garden is called "Almoners' Garden," that this was the almonry chapel. If it were so, it is a long way from its more usual position near the gate-house.

After the completion of the excavations it was found necessary to again cover up some of the later remains, to preserve them from the weather, but as they are carefully laid down on the accompanying plan (Plate IV.) they can at any time be easily re-examined. In other cases the

⁵ In the drawings of these shields, published by the late Mr. E. P. Willins, in his *Castleacre Priory, Norfolk*, the royal arms are shewn with the French quarters *semées-de-lis*, instead of with three fleurs-de-lis only, and the other three shields with diapers, which do not exist in the originals. He also omits the crosses bottonny in the priory arms, though they are plainly visible.

⁶ *Gleanings*, 110.

masonry has been pointed up and protected by a coping to keep out the wet.

Antiquaries in general, and the Society in particular, are much indebted to the Earl of Leicester for his kindness in permitting, and his great liberality in contributing to the excavations, and to the Rev. Dr. Jessopp, Mr. Henry Willett, the Society of Antiquaries, and other subscribers to the work.

Thanks are also due to Mr. Thomas Moore Hudson, the tenant of the site, for the liberal spirit in which he assented to the excavations, and for much kind assistance generally.

The Society is also indebted to Mr. George E. Fox, F.S.A., for permission to reproduce his beautiful and accurate drawings of the tile flooring in the nave and the ceiling of the prior's lodging.

The Hobarts of Hales Hall.

COMMUNICATED BY

BRIG.-GENERAL BULWER.

THE Hobarts came originally from Suffolk. We find them settled at Monks Illegh in that county, 13th Richard II. (1389). One of their descendants, Thomas Hobart of Layham, in Suffolk, living in 1494, had two sons, the eldest of whom, William, married Anne, the daughter of Sir Philip Tilney, Knt., inherited the Layham estate, and was the ancestor of the senior line of the family, which flourished in Suffolk for some generations. The second son, James, was brought up to the law, in which profession he gained not only great repute, but also a considerable fortune. He was Lent Reader at Lincoln's Inn, 1478, Attorney-General to King Henry VII., 1487, a member of his Privy Council, and made a Knight of the Sword, 18th February, 1504, on the occasion of Prince Henry (afterwards Henry VIII.) being created Prince of Wales. Sir James Hobart bore arms: Sable, an estoile of six points or, between two flaunches ermine, a crescent for difference. *Crest*: A bull passant, per pale sable and gules bezantée, in the nose a ring or, differenced as in the arms.

This is said to have been the crest of the Lyhart family, for Sir James Hobart married first, Margaret, niece of Walter Lyhart, Bishop of Norwich, and sister

and heir of John Lyhart, by whom he had two sons and two daughters, and was executor to Bishop Lyhart's will in 1472. He purchased Hales Hall, near Loddon, which he principally built, and where he resided, having also a house in Norwich and in London. He married, secondly, Margaret, widow of John Doreward and daughter of Peter Naunton of Letheringham, county Suffolk; and dying at Hales Hall, 23rd February, 1517, was buried in Norwich Cathedral, where also his second wife, who survived him, was buried in the following October. Sir James Hobart's will was proved 6th May, 1517. He was not only the first to bring his family into distinction, but he was also a public benefactor, inasmuch as he built the beautiful parish church at Loddon, where his first wife, Margaret Lyhart, is said by Weever to have been buried; he built a fair bridge over the Waveney, called St. Olave's or Tooley's bridge; he helped to rebuild the Council Chamber at the Guildhall, Norwich, in 1511, in which his portrait still hangs; and he largely contributed, when Recorder of Norwich, to the stone groined roof of the Cathedral. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir Walter Hobart, Knt., High Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, 1535, who lived at Morley, where he was buried 1538.

The family continued to possess Hales Hall until 12th Charles I. (1636), when James, son of Anthony Hobart, sold it to one Henry Humberston. There are several entries of the Hobart family in the parish register of Loddon, and several memorials of them in the parish church.

The Hobarts were a numerous family, and settled in various parts of Norfolk and Suffolk; residing at Beeston near Norwich, Blickling, Cawston, Deopham, Guestwick, Holt, Intwood, Kelsale, Langley, Mendham, Metton, Morley, Outwell, Pickenham, Plumstead, Salle, Thwayte, Weybread, and Wroxham.

Miles Hobart, of Plumstead, bought the Manor of Thwayte, 1544; James, son of Roger Hobart, sold Morley, 1674, to Sir Joseph Paine, Knt.; Anthony, son of Edward Hobart, sold Mendham, 1722, to Thomas Bransby; James, son of Sir Miles Hobart, Knt., sold Plumstead; Hobart Astley sold the Manor of Weybread to Edward de Ligne; Robert Hobart, son of Thomas Hobart of Wroxham and Beeston, left his Beeston estate to Catherine Brown of Norwich, spinster, 1736.

In those days there were Recusants in the land; that is to say, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who ruled England with the gentle sway of a woman, but with the iron hand of a Tudor; and also in the reign of King James I., for we find the name of Hobart of frequent occurrence among the certificates annually presented to the Bishop of Norwich; on the Recusant Rolls in the State Paper Office; and in the Records of the Vicar-General of the Bishop of London. Among them are the following, viz.:—1597, 17th June, Anne, wife of Roger Hubbard, Gent.; 1598, 22nd Sept., Henry Hobart, Gent., admonished to conform at the Cathedral, by the Commissioners for “causes ecclesiastical”; 1599, 7th January, Henry Hobart, Gent., submits himself and conforms accordingly; 1602, 4th February, Mary, wife of James Hubbard, Gent., of St. Peter per Mountergate, Norwich, a Recusant; 1604, Frances, wife of James Hubbard of Hales Hall, Esq., and Prudence, Mary, and Audrey Hubbard, their daughters, Recusants; 1605, Frances, wife of James Hobart, Esq., late of Loddon; James Hubbard, Esq., Martha Hubbard, late of Morley, spinster, Recusants; 1609, 15th June, Mary, wife of John Hubbard, Gent., of the Cathedral Close, a Recusant; 1641, 23rd May, James Hobart of Hales Hall, Gent., who had been convicted of Recusancy, took the Sacrament in the parish church of St. Giles'-in-the-Fields.

Sir Henry Hobart, second son of Thomas Hobart of Plumstead, and great grandson of Sir James Hobart of Hales Hall, was one of the Governors of Lincoln's Inn, Serjeant-at-law, Attorney-General, M.P. for Norwich and Yarmouth, Knighted in 1603, created a Baronet in 1611, and Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1613; purchased Intwood from the Gresham family in 1596, and Blickling from the Clere family in 1616. He married Dorothy, daughter of Sir Robert Bell of Beauprè, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and died 29th December, 1625, and was buried at Blickling, 4th January, 1626. His son, Sir John Hobart, Knt. and Baronet, finished the present noble house called Blickling Hall, 1628, and was succeeded by his nephew, Sir John Hobart, son of Miles Hobart of Intwood, who was called up, by writ, 11th December, 1657, to be a member of Cromwell's Upper House. This Sir John was twice married; first, to his cousin Philippa, daughter and coheir of Sir John Hobart, Knt. and Baronet; and secondly, to Mary, daughter of John Hampden, the patriot. He had the honour of entertaining His Majesty King Charles II., at Blickling, in 1671; an event which is thus recorded in the parish register:—"King Charles II. with Queen Catherine, James, Duke of York, the Dukes of Monmouth, Richmond, and Buckingham, with divers Lords, arrived at the Lord Hobart's, at Blickling Hall. The King, Queen, and the Dukes being entertained in the great dining-room, the others in the great parlour, from whence they went, the Queen to Norwich and the King to Oxnead."

In connection with this royal visit, Davy, in his Suffolk MSS., relates—"that among the portraits in the Parsonage House at Wrentham, at the death of the Rev. Wm. Barlee, in 1830, was the portrait of a young girl of very fair complexion and flaxen hair, and called

Lydia Hobart. She was said to have been very handsome; and upon the visit of King Charles II. to her father, at Blickling Hall, she was sent away to prevent her being seen by that monarch. She died, unmarried, at the age of eighteen." I have not been able to make out who this Lydia Hobart was, nor whether Sir John had a daughter of that name.

Sir John was succeeded by his son, Sir Henry Hobart, Baronet, who was knighted at Blickling, 1671, by King Charles II. He was Gentleman of the Horse to King William III., and present with him at the battle of the Boyne. He was said to have been a good-looking man, and one of the most accomplished swordsmen of his day, but for all that, he was killed in a duel, on Cawston Heath, by Oliver le Neve, who was short and plain in appearance, and notoriously a bad swordsman. A stone still marks the spot where he fell, 20th August, 1698. His son, Sir John Hobart, Baronet, was created Lord Hobart of Blickling, 28th May, 1728; and Earl of Buckinghamshire, 5th Sept., 1746.

There was a certain Sir Miles Hobart, M.P. for Great Marlow, who, at the Parliament which met 17th March, 1628, was distinguished for his opposition to the Court, and was among the members who, foreseeing the dissolution, forcibly held the Speaker in the chair, while they passed certain strong resolutions. On the dissolution of this Parliament, he was imprisoned for locking the doors of "the House" during the publication of these resolutions, but was discharged in 1631. Collins and Burke, in their *Peerages*; Blomefield, in his *History of Norfolk*; and other authorities, all make him out to be Miles, the third son of Sir Henry Hobart, the Lord Chief Justice; but it has been ascertained, beyond all dispute, that he was the son of Miles Hobart, clothworker, of London, descended from William Hobart, of Southwold. This Sir

Miles Hobart was knighted at Salisbury, 8th August, 1623, and killed by the overturning of his coach down Holborn Hill, 29th June, 1632.

On the other side of the question, in the troublous times of the Civil War, we find that William Hobart, second son of James Hobart, of Holt, was shot in Dereham Market Place, on the spot where the Obelisk now stands, for an attempt in favour of King Charles II., and was buried at Holt, 4th January, 1651.

I have now come to the close of my notes, having prepared just sufficient to enable the members to follow the fortunes of the Hobart family, commencing with Sir James, who was the first to settle in Norfolk, at Hales Hall, down to his descendant at Blickling, who was ennobled in 1728. Sufficient also, to show us that in the old times "the Law" was the chief road to fame and fortune; and we also learn how in those times, as indeed in the present day, when a man, by his prudence and energy, made a fortune to benefit his family, his descendants, in a very short time, show their appreciation and gratitude by scattering it all to the winds. Look at Sir James Hobart: by his industry, learning, and forensic skill, he was enabled to purchase estates and many manors in Norfolk; all of which are given in Blomefield, and all of which, as far as I can make out, passed away from his family in the course of a few generations; his very home, as you now perceive, being a heap of ruins; and it was left to his great grandson, Sir Henry Hobart, Knight and Baronet, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, to bring, through "the Law," new wealth, honours, and distinctions, and to purchase fresh estates in Norfolk. And if you want an instance of a similar kind at the present day, you have only to look at the case of "Jubilee Benson."

Castle Rising: its Castle and Borough.

COMMUNICATED BY

EDWARD M. BELOE, F.S.A.

I.—THE BEGINNING.

WHERE the high land of Norfolk falls steep down into the marsh, on the ridge of the hills are, perhaps, the most splendid earthworks in the kingdom. They overlook the estuary seawards, and landwards command a beautiful panorama of what was once forest, but is now a richly cultivated country. These earthworks were made long, long before history begins, to preserve the country from the invader, and, perhaps, to hold the inland tribes in check. They did their duty, but the time came when the Celt, who had made them, was driven back, and the new settlers did not require them.

They were left lonely and wasted, a settlement decayed; and when first mentioned in history in the great record of the kingdom, the settlement was merely a small and subordinate jurisdiction, subject to the then dominant manor of Snettisham. That, with other manors in the county, belonged to Stigand the Bishop, formerly the Bishop of the East Anglians, who afterwards, by his grasping ambition, obtained the bishopric of Winchester and the archbishopric of Canterbury, which he held when



THE EARTHWORKS.
SHOWING THE 15th CENTURY BRIDGE OVER MOAT.
CASTLE RISING, NORFOLK.

the Conqueror came. Within the vast earthworks, on their northern side, is a small church, said to be Saxon. Its history is unknown, and the date of its foundation has been much discussed, for it was only discovered some forty years ago. It was then covered with the mould which had slipped down from the hills, and which had raised a platform, many feet in height, around the foundations of the Castle.

The chapel here seems to point to the fact that these mounds became, in the later times of the Saxon domination, their settlement; and when Stigand possessed the manor, as he did in his own right and not in that of his bishopric, he, the great builder, erected the little church for the settlement of the Saxon people. It was built long before the castle, for its rough and rude architecture betokens pre-Norman work. More will be said of the newer church of the Norman, but this suggestion may be made here, and thus add one element more to the controversy. The Conqueror could fight the civil power, but the Church was above his interference; so in the person of Stigand the old ecclesiastical rule of the Saxon continued, until, after holding the archbishopric for seven years, he was removed and died in prison.

II.—THE BARONY.

This, one among his great possessions, was given to the Conqueror's half-brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, who held it at the date of the record. It may be assumed that Odo was too busily engaged, and had so many other manors beside this small one, that he did nothing here, but left the earthworks and the small church in the settlement as he found them. But Odo came under the displeasure of the Conqueror's son, Rufus, because, as an historic fact, he joined in the rebellion of Robert, the

elder brother of Rufus, and so his vast estates were confiscated. It is in the grant of Rising to William de Albini that the interest in our subject really commences. William de Albini had the grant of Rising and several other of Odo's manors in Norfolk, one of which was Wymondham. His son William succeeded him, and he built the great nave of Wymondham church. He died in 1176, but it must have been in the earlier days of the grant that he raised the great castle which is now before us, for its architecture betokens nothing of the transition of the later styles, although very late in its own. It is a grand keep, one of the finest. It ranks with Norwich, which is a little earlier, and with Rochester, which is earlier still. They were all built on one plan, as places of refuge more than for living in, and we can only wonder at the wealth and genius which raised them. De Albini not only built his castle, but a little lower down he founded his church, the successor, on a new site, of the old Saxon church¹ to which I have alluded, and which then, probably, was left to go to ruin. The church that William de Albini built is even grander than his castle. The west front is, perhaps, the most elaborate specimen of the late Norman that exists. The lower walls of the building, except of the transept, are original, and remain a monument of the pious care that erected them.

A William de Albini succeeded the first and great William, and the descent went on from generation to

¹ When D'Albini changed the site of the settlement to the position nearer the brow of the hill, where his church stands, he seems to have fortified it, for there are strong earthworks, hitherto unnoticed, to the north of the rectory; and there is, to the north-east, a mound resembling the Toot Hill at Hunstanton, and in the same position. There is also, at Hunstanton, a square inclosure to the east of the church. Rising and Hunstanton were on two arterial trackways.

generation, generally by brothers, for there was a singular lack of direct heirs in this line. The tracing of this lineage is a matter of history. The last De Albini was Hugh, and he left no children. His large estates were divided amongst his four sisters; and the one to whom Castle Rising was apportioned was Cecily, who married Roger de Montalt—in French, Monhaut—Roger of the High Mount, a Flintshire family, the name of whose home is now softened into Mold. Again in this family there was a sad failure of children; the estate went sometimes to sons, but oftener to brothers of the Montalt, until it passed to Robert de Montalt, and we pause for a few minutes upon this the last of the race. His wife's name was Emma, probably a Norfolk lady, some say of Stradsett. She was a widow of one of the great barons of Norfolk when she married Montalt, her first husband being a FitzJohn of the family of the founder of Shouldham Abbey. There were again no children of this Robert and Emma, and in the first year of Edward III., when their hopes of issue to succeed them in their great property failed, they sold their estate at Rising—subject to their retaining it for their heirs male if there were any—to Isabella, Dowager Queen of England, with remainder to her second son, John of Eltham. Two years after this grant Robert de Montalt died; and in the fifth year of Edward III., in consequence of events which I shall fully go into, for it is here the centre of interest of our tale lies, Emma de Montalt released to the Queen Isabella the whole of her estate in the castle of Rising and the barony in consideration of an annuity of £400 a year, which it is said she did not long enjoy.

Emma de Montalt, although occupying so high a position, has left no mark whereby she is known. Her life was quiet and unobserved. She lived probably near Rising, and the only memorial of her is a slab in the nave of

Stradsett Church, and on it is inscribed in French, the then dominant language of the country :—

ICI GIST DAME EMME DE MOVHAVT, FEMME DES DEVS BAROVNS.
DEV PVR SA PITE EIT MERCI DE SALME.

which in English is :—

Here lies Dame Emma de Mouhaut, the wife of two Barons.
God in his pity have mercy on her soul.

And there lies the last owner in a direct line from the great De Albini, of the estates of Rising.

We have one other memorial to speak of, and that has been recently found. In the neighbouring church of Watlington I had long noticed a memorial slab with one of those beautiful floriated crosses, which, in the earlier years of the fourteenth century frequently marked the graves of the greater dead. The inscription was not read by Blomefield. It is as follows :—

De sus ceste pere est enclos
Sire Robert de Movhant chair et os
De chivalerie ovt pris et los
Deuxa salme dyne repos
Priez pvr li
Dev de salme eit merci.

which may be translated :—

Underneath this stone is enclosed
Sire Robert de Mouhaut flesh and bone
In knighthood beyond price and praise
God to his soul give repose
Pray for him
God on his soul have mercy.

On the slab of Emma his widow is the like floriated cross as there is upon the tomb of her husband. [Plate 3.]

We have all, perhaps, felt in visiting the last home and shrine of those saints who have left a record of their lives, a feeling of awe at their self-restraint, unselfishness,



ROBERT DE MONTALT: WATLINGTON, c. 1329.

Size of matrix, 98 X 43 inches.

TALT AND EMMA HIS WIFE
DSETT, NORFOLK.

PLATE 3.



DAME EMMA DE MONTALT: STRADSETT, c. 1332.
Size of matrix, 100 X 44 inches.

and good works; the excluding themselves from all pleasures, honours, and wealth, which distinguished their actions. Now that they have passed away from us for centuries, and their earthly interests vanished, we think that the saintly life of those whose holy shrines we see may have been the wiser and better course.

But the career of Isabella, the heroine of *Rising*, is not that of the saint; it is that of a woman whose ambition, whose cruelty, whose immorality, and hardness of character is perhaps unsurpassed in history. Whether the bad qualities she possessed were entirely owing to her own fault is not for us to judge; but a few words upon the subject of this heroine and the manner of her coming here may not be uninteresting. She was married very early to her weak and unfortunate husband, Edward II. She came to us a bride so beautiful that she was called Isabella the fair. Her father was handsome, for he was designated Philip le Bel, and her husband was as remarkable as both of them for his comeliness and gentleness. This woman, so young and beautiful, and yet so bad, was of high ability and possessed great qualities. During her career as queen, which lasted twenty years, in its early portion she certainly distinguished herself by great power of government and by energy in administration. She arranged treaties, and in her fall, when she lost every moral quality, and became a fierce, cruel, relentless, heartless woman, she never ceased to be the queen. She was the daughter of a king, and in all her associations she never demeaned herself to any of low position; her companions throughout, and those with whom she acted in business, were all the highest barons of the land. One of the last acts before her fall was her retirement to France with Mortimer, but I need not here refer to a connexion which is historic. It is only after being exiled from that country that she came to England with an

armed force, and landed on Harwich beach, and compelled her unlucky husband to surrender the kingdom to his and her son. She gave the keeping of the king afterwards to the Earl of Lancaster, her relative, and only when the kindness of the earl to his unfortunate prisoner became apparent, did this wife and the mother of his child, take the care of her husband the king from him, and put it into the hands of two who would do her own will, and who took him to Berkeley, almost certainly by her directions, and murdered him. This is the heroine of the Castle! She was now let loose, and everyone fell at her will. The good Earl of Lancaster, the old Earl of Coventry, relatives of herself and her husband, were executed; and of the many minor personages who came under her displeasure it is not my intention in this short sketch to speak. We all know that she ruled the kingdom in the name of her son (but in reality by direction of Mortimer) until the fourth year of his reign, and I wish to tell you very shortly the end.

The Parliament being assembled at Nottingham, with all its magnificent surroundings, it was thought the king might have had his lodging in the castle, but not so; the queen assumed it, and Mortimer was there with more attendants and in greater splendour even than the king himself.

Mortimer entered the castle at night, on the sitting of Parliament, by a secret entrance, and when it was discovered, the youthful king, the queen's son, entered, too, with a few attendants, and quickly secured him, amidst the rage and weeping of the queen. They took Mortimer to London, and in the court held at once they condemned the man who had been for years, and even to within a few days before, the dominant power in the kingdom, to death; and he was hanged with two mean rebels at a place called the "Limes," but now Tyburn, and was left hanging for two days and two nights, that he might be

degraded in the presence of the people. This was in the fourth year of Edward III., and in the fifth year possession was given to the queen of the Castle of Rising.

It has been much disputed what was the restraint to which this woman was subjected here after the death of Mortimer. The first mention is of her being taken from Berkhamstead to Windsor, this before she had Rising Castle, on a visit to her son. She was under an escort consisting of three of the principal noblemen in England, probably her keepers. But the next year, as I have already mentioned, it was arranged that Emma de Montalt should give up her estate at Rising, so that Isabella might come there.

The queen was then thirty-six years old; she had at that early date committed all those great crimes of which history tells us, and the fair girl that came to England full of hope, full of promise, and of great power and position, to be the queen of a great country, was now almost a prisoner in the secluded castle on the coast of Norfolk. But, notwithstanding all this degradation, in all the public documents her son still called her his *carissima mater*, his dearest mother, and there is nothing in any record to shew that he does not appear to have been other than a loving respectful son.

Froissart, who is so often quoted as the narrator of her history, gives us the impression that she was under strict surveillance; but it is possible that two years after Mortimer's death, when the government of Edward became established, and she was no longer able to wield any power for the public injury, she was allowed to go practically almost free, although every year or nearly every year of her life we find her a resident here. She died at the age of sixty-three, at Hertford, one of the castles given to her, and was buried in the church of the Grey Friars, London, on the site of which now stands the Blue-coat School.

The local interest that she has here is in great measure due to the entries in the accounts of King's Lynn from the fifth of Edward III., when she commenced her residence here, to the thirty-second of Edward III., the year before she died. She was certainly in residence on thirtieth of Edward III., when the entry occurs of "5s. 10d. paid for two barrels of sturgeon sent to Isabella, Queen of England." The king visited her in the eighth, ninth, tenth, fifteenth, eighteenth, twenty-third, and twenty-sixth years of his reign, all of which are mentioned in the Corporation accounts of King's Lynn.²

The devolution of the estate of Rising, with its courts, rights, and privileges, is easily traced. John of Eltham did not live to enjoy it. The Black Prince possessed it; after that it passed through members of the royal line (who still seem powerfully attracted by the place and its neighbourhood)³ to Henry VIII., who exchanged it with the Duke of Norfolk. He was attainted: it was then restored to his brother, the Earl of Northampton, and continued in that family till 1693, when it was bought by one of the present line of Howards, in whom it still continues.

A sketch of the family of the Lords of Rising would be incomplete without a short reference to their influence over Lynn. They were entitled to one-fourth of the

² The following show the form of the entries in the treasurer's accounts of the Borough of King's Lynn:—

5 & 6 Edward III. 20/- given for bread sent to Isabella the Queen Dowager when she went to Walsingham.

9 & 10 Edw^d III. £29 : 16 : 4 given to Knights, Valets, Esquires, and other servants of the King. 40s 2d p^d for presents to the Queen Dowager. 4/- paid for expenses of the Queen's cooks.

17 & 18 Edw^d III. £9 : 18 : 10 paid for meat sent to Queen Isabella.

They run almost yearly from 5 and 6 Edward III. to 31 and 32 Edward III., the year before she died.

³ The Duke of Fife and Princess Louise reside at the Hall. Sandringham is three miles off.

Tolbooth, a form for expressing the Port Dues of Lynn. There is a good deal about these dues in the Corporation records, and a composition between the Montalt of the period and the Bishop of Norwich remains there.⁴

These duties led to a great dispute about the sixth year of Edw. II., when Robert de Montalt's men were attacked in the town. Montalt claimed damages, and got judgment for £4000, a very heavy penalty. It appears the whole community of Lynn met and appointed assessors for the payment. The receipts, with the seal of Montalt attached, and a polite letter, also under his seal, asking for payment, still exist in the Corporation records.

I have in Plate I., No. 7, engraved a copy of one of these receipts, "given at our castle of Rising." It runs as follows, and sufficiently gives the details of the judgment. The seal is given on Plate I., No. 6.

"A touz caux que cest lre verront ou orront Robt. de Monhaut seneschal de Cestre salut en dieux Sachiez moi auoir resceu du moire et la comunalte de la ville de Lenn p la mayn peres de Elmham quatorze livres tresze sodz et quatre deners d'argent pur vin de lui achate en partie de some de cinquante liures les quels les auandiz moire et comunalte me sont tenuz appaier a les touz sainz pschain suyaunt apres la cōfection de cest escrit dune dette de quatre mille liures les quels ieo le dict Robt. et Emma ma Compaigne recouerimes vers les auandits moire et comunalte en la Court n're Seignur le roi deuant ses Justices du Baunk a Weymonster a la quinzeine de Pasche L'an du regne le roi Edward fuiltz le Roi Edward Septisme Des quels quatorze liures tresze soudz et quatre deñ ieo me couente pleinement estre paie et le dit moire et la comunalte acquite pur touz iours, En tesmoignaunece de quel chose a cestre lre dacquittance

⁴ In the *Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany* there is a very learned paper by Mr. R. Howlett on this composition, Vol. III., Part 2, p. 603.

ieo ai mys mon seal. Done au Chastel Rising la veille de Sant Marguerete L'An [du Regne le dit Roi Edward] sessisme."

Which may be translated thus—

To all those who this letter shall see or hear—Robert de Monhaut, Seneschal of Chester, health in the Lord—Know you that I have received of the Mayor and the Commonalty of the town of Lynn, by the hand of Peter de Elmham, fourteen pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence of money for wine by him purchased, in part of a sum of fifty pounds, the which the aforesaid Mayor and Commonalty are bound to pay me at the feast of All Saints next following the making of that writing, of a debt of four thousand pounds, the which I the said Robert and Emma my consort recovered against the aforesaid Mayor and Commonalty in the Court of our lord the king, before his Justices in Banc at Westminster, at the quinzaine of Easter in the seventh year of the reign of King Edward, son of King Edward, of which fourteen pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence I acknowledge fully to be paid, and the said Mayor and Commonalty acquit for all time. In testimony whereof to this letter of acquittance I have put my seal. Given at the Castle of Rising the Vigil of Saint Margaret, the year of the reign of the said King Edward sixteenth.

I also give in full the letter from Robert de Montalt:—

"As sages hommes ¶ ces chrs amiz Johan. de Thornech, Merre de Lenne, ¶ as burgeys de meismes la ville, Robt de Monhaut seneschal de Cestre salut ¶ totes bones ¶ ches amitez Chs amiz purceo q̄ vous mauez mande q̄ les deners q̄ me sount duwes au paier ore a la feste des touz seintz derrein passe ne sount pas vncore leuez par la resoun des grevaunces ¶ destourbances q̄ vous

NO. 1.



NO. 2.



NO. 3.



NO. 5.



NO. 4.



NO. 6.



MACE AND SEALS

CASTLE RISING.



NO. 7.

DE MONTALT'S RECEIPT FOR FINE.

CASTLE RISING, NORFOLK.

avez eu Sachiez chrs amiz q̄ de v̄re greuaunce me peisse
 malement et si ieo vous purreie eser ou allegier de v̄re
 greuaunce ieo le ferraie molt bonement Mes c̄teinement
 chs amiz ieo sui ore entiel meschief de deners qil couent
 q̄ ieo soie sui de mieu par quei vous pri chrs amiz q̄ vous
 me facez auoir mes deners au plus enhaste q̄ vo^r purrez
 par certainement ieo ne les pus plus longement desport^r
 q̄ mout me peise. Et endroit del damage q̄ fust fait a
 mon baillif mauez vous maunde q̄ les parties sount acordez
 Sachiez q̄ coment q̄ la peis soit faite par entre eux le
 despit fait a moi nest pas redresce par quei vous pri
 chs seign^{rs} q̄ dentre vous voillez ordiner q̄ les amendes
 me soient faites del despit auaundit. A Dieu chs amiz
 q̄ vois doint bone vie ⁊ longe. Escri^t au Shouldh le v
 iour de Nouemb^r.

[Endorsed.] Adam de Walsokne.	Witt de Penrech.
Witt de Waltū.	Joh de Walsing ^a m.
Nich de Pulh ^a m.	Hūfr de Wiken.
Ham de Cokesford.	Witt de brūtoñ.
Joh Braunch.	Robt de Reppes.
Joh de Cauendiss.	q̄ elegunt ve ^r es scab.
Joh bāme.	

This may be also rendered in English thus—

To the wise men and those dear friends, John de Thornech,
 Mayor of Lynn, and to the burgesses of the said town,
 Robert de Montalt, Steward of Chester, salutation and all
 good and fair greetings. Dear friends, forasmuch as you
 have sent me word that the money which ought to have
 been paid to me now at the Feast of All Saints last past, is
 not yet levied by reason of the grievances and disturbances
 which you have had, know, dear friends, that for your
 grievance I am sorely vexed, and if I could ease or
 lighten you of your grievance I would do it most kindly.
 But assuredly, dear friends, I am now in such mischance
 of money that I must needs be better supplied, wherefore

I pray you, dear friends, that you let me have my money in the most haste that you are able, for assuredly I cannot longer put them off which press me much. And in regard of the damage which was done to my bailiff, you have sent me word that the parties have agreed, know that albeit the peace be made between them, the shame done to me is not redressed, wherefore I pray you, dear Sirs, that among you you would order that amends be made me for the said shame. Adieu, dear friends. Good life and long be with you. Written at Shouldham, the 5th day of November.

An early fourteenth century letter from a baron to a community, asking for payment of a judgment debt, may not be common.⁵ It is remarkable for the very

⁵ The pleadings in this suit relating the complaint of Robert de Montalt and Emma his wife, and the justification of the action of the Community were with the Lynn records, but are now lost. They are shortly set out in Taylor's *Castle Rising*, p. 33; and in full in Harrod's *Castles and Convents*, p. 27. I have had a careful search made in De Banco Rolls, and only find the following judgment of the proceedings in this suit: it is a form of Cognovit. Norff.—Maior 't coitas ville de Lenū suū fuei ad respondēd, Robto de Monte Alto 't Emme vñi eius, de pñto qđ reddant eis quatuor milia libi quas eis debent 't iniuste detinēt, 'tē. Et vnde iidē Robtus 't Emma p Eustachiū Dallyngge attorū ipius Emme dicūt qđ cū pđci Maior 't coitas die Jouis in festo scī Valentini, anno Regni dñi Reġ nūc septimo, apud Lenne p scptū suū obligassent se teneri ipis Robto 't Emme in p'dēo debito soluend eisdem Robto 't Emme ad festū Anūciacōis be Marie pxio seqns apud Castel Rysyng pđci Maior 't coitas debitū illud ad diem illū eisdem Robto 't Emme nō reddiderūt set illud eis hucusq reddere cont'dixei 't adhuc reddere cont'dicūt vnde dicūt qđ detei sūt 't dampnū hent ad valenē Mille libi. Et inde pduē sectam 'tē. Et pferūt pđēm scēptū sub nōib; pđcoz Maioris 't coitatis qđ pđēm debitū testat' in forma pđca, 'tē.

Et Maior 't coitas p Thoñ de Massyngham attorū suū veñ. Et bene cogñ pđēm scriptū esse fcm suū. Et nō possūt dediē quin tenent' pđcis Robto 't Emme in pđco debito. Ideo conē est qđ pđci Robtus 't Emma recupent u'sus eos pđēm debitū. Et Maior 't coitas in mīa, 'tē. Et sup hoc iidem Robtus 't Emma g'is remiserūt ipis Maiori 't coitati dampna sua, 'tē. Et sciend qđ pđēm scriptū obligatoriū cancellat' hic, 'tē, et libat' attorū pđcoz Maioris 't coitatis, 'tē.

courteous expression of its demand. But it may be noted the debt was only due the 1st November, and the letter is dated the 5th, it was therefore urgent.

III.—THE BOROUGH.

The main interest of Rising is in its castle and in its connection with the widow Queen of Edward II. But that is not the only interest. There is within it and the adjoining townships an example of local government⁶ which is worthy of special notice, as shewing the connection between the Borough of Castle Rising and the Lord of the Manor.

Coming up the hill, on which Rising stands, are two villages—North and South Wootton—and at the back of the hill, a third village—Roydon. Very early, if not in the ownership, certainly under the influence of De Albini, South Wootton became broken off somewhat from the common association. With this exception these townships of Rising, Wootton, and Roydon were united in one manorial organisation.

The earlier records of its courts have perished. But the first of those which survive gives us an interesting picture of their working at the time, as well as a sufficiently clear indication of the form in which they had, doubtless, existed for many previous generations.

On the 30th September, 1642, the men of the three townships met at a court, which is thus described:—

Castle Rysinge.	Prima curia Generalis cum leta prenobilis Lionelli Comitis Middlesex, Henrici domini Pierpont, Edwardi domini Nuburghe, Willelmi Playters, Militis et Baronetti, et Ricardi Onslowe, Militis, cum attornamento tenentium ibidem tenta die Jovis in festo Sei Michaelis Archangeli;
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⁶ The Society is greatly indebted to its secretary, the Rev. W. Hudson, for his revision of this portion of my paper.—E. M. B.

videlicet xxix die Septembris Anno regni domini nostri Caroli dei gratia Anglie Scotie ffrancie et Hibernie regis, fidei defensoris, &c., decimo octavo annoque domini 1642. Tenta per Robertum Morse, generosum, capitalem senescallum ibidem.

This was the first court held on the succession to the manor of Thomas, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, for whom the above-named gentlemen acted as feoffees.

Then follow the names of the ordinary manorial juries, one described as "*Capitales Plegii cum inquisitione liberorum ex parte Rysinge*;" another (similarly described) "*ex parte N. Wootton*;" and a third, called "*Inquisitio nativorum ex parte Wutton et Ryseing*." The practice, at this period, both here and elsewhere, as we see from the title of the two first juries, was to make one body of jurors serve both for the Court Baron and Court Leet; the chief pledges being the leet jury, and the inquest of freemen that of the court baron. The third jury served for matters concerning the "*nativi*," or "*copyholders*" only. In the case of Roydon, which took part in the "*leet*" business only, there was a fourth jury sworn, described as "*Capitales Lete ex parte Roydon*."

The court divided its proceedings into the two usual departments of the "*Court Baron*" and the "*Court Leet*," the former taking cognizance of the strictly manorial business, the latter dealing with the common-law offences of nuisances and what would now be described as "*police*" business.

Into these ordinary matters it is not necessary to enter. Our attention is, however, attracted by what follows in the record of the proceedings on this particular occasion. It being the first court of a new lord, all the manorial tenants were summoned to "*attorn*" (or transfer) themselves to him. The process is described as follows:—

Attorn'. Ad hanc Curiam omnes tenentes tam liberi quam nativi
Tenent'. exacti fuerunt de quibus compuerunt Ricardus Clements,

Willelmus Wyborde [40 names] Et
quilibet eorum posuit dominos in possessionem redditus
et servicii per solutionem cuiuslibet eorum unius denarii.
Et quilibet eorum fecerunt dominis fidelitatem, &c.

A complete list of all the tenants is given, divided into five sets.

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| 1. Liberi tenentes vocati burgagers. | { | Twenty-five persons, of whom twenty
"attorned." |
| 2. Tenentes vocati cottagers. | { | Twenty-eight persons. Only eight
attorned, three had already answered
as burgagers ; two are marked dead. |
| 3. Ex parte Roydon
[? cottagers.] | { | Four persons ; all attorned. |
| 4. Nativi tenentes. | { | Twelve persons ; five of whom attorned,
some having appeared before. |
| 5. Liberi tenentes ex parte Northwutton. | { | Eighteen persons, of whom eight
attorned under this description. |

It thus appears that, in the three townships, there were eighty-seven tenements in respect of which fealty and service were due to the lord. That the list is one of tenements rather than of tenants is plain, because several persons appear in more than one set. "Richard Clements, generous," for instance, attorned personally as a "burgager," but his name also comes first on the list of "nativi tenentes." "Richard Taylor" actually appears in four sets, and twice in one of them.

The chief interest lies in the "burgagers." They are, evidently, summoned to make attornment as such, and not simply as persons who, holding manorial tenements in the borough, happened, by coincidence, to be also burgesses. They were the owners (perhaps at this time the occupiers) of the tenements to which the right of burgesship attached.⁷ Every such "burgage"-holder owed fealty to the lord of the manor of Rising.

⁷ One of them attorned "jure uxoris."

The fact carries us back a long way, to the time when the good folk of Rising were only just beginning to obtain the management of their own affairs, and (partly) to free themselves from the control of the great manorial lords who overshadowed them. One of the earliest steps in the process of emancipation (frequently mentioned in *Domesday*) would, here as elsewhere, be a money payment in lieu of personal service, or merely in acknowledgment of over-lordship. This payment, chargeable on holders "in burgage," was called "landgable," and being most commonly due to the king, has been described as a royal tax. It has, however, been conclusively shown not to have been a "tax," but a "rent" payable to the superior lord of the tenement. If the king were lord he took it as lord, not as king. If another held the "sac and soc" he took it. Under the name of "langoll rent" and other corruptions, it continued to be paid, in most boroughs, through the middle ages. As there is no mention of the burgesses, as such, owing suit of court to the manor, it was, probably, some such customary payment as this, a relic of an otherwise obsolete lordship, which was due from them to the manorial lord.

Rather different in its origin, was another interesting connection between the borough and the manor. The mayor of the borough, after having been elected by the burgesses, was under the obligation of attending the court leet of Rising, there to be sworn to execute his office aright, and there, in full court, he elected and presented his serjeant-at-mace, to be similarly admitted by oath.⁸

⁸ The origin of this customary obligation, as well as of the custom by which in some boroughs the leet court elected the mayor, may rest upon the fact that the leet was originally not so much the court of a manor as of a franchise, the court in which a privileged lord exercised the police jurisdiction of punishing by amercement all kinds of petty offences which outside the franchise was exercised by the sheriff in his tourn. Where the

The entry from the court roll, dated 16th of October, 1649, is as follows:—

Quod Sampson Browne electus fuit per Burgenses Burgi predicti in officio pretoris ejusdem Burgi die lune ante festum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli ultimi preteriti secundum antiquam Consuetudinem Burgi predicti qui ad officium illud bene et fideliter in omnibus exequendum et exercendum juratus fuit.

Et predictus prætor immediate in curia elegit et presentavit Jacobum Browne servientem ad clavam suam qui ad officium illud in omnibus bene et fideliter exequendum et exercendum juratus fuit.

The mayor of the borough of Castle Rising was a person of very exceptional jurisdiction. No record exists on the Charter Rolls of any grant of a borough or of any municipal rights to Castle Rising. It is purely a borough by prescription, and the mayor seems to have been the sole member of it. In the inquisition mentioned by Blomefield,⁹ temp. Queen Elizabeth, the mayor and the burgesses only are mentioned, and Blomefield expressly states that in his time there were no aldermen, and of right there never were any.

There is a shattered copy of the mayors' oaths with the court rolls, and underneath a few of the many duties required of him:—

That ye shall set the Assize of bread, wine, ale, fish, flesh, corne, —also of weights and measures in the said Borough—and due execution upon the defaults that there shall be.

Ye shall set the price of Beare and ale in your Borough according

franchise passed from the hands of the king into those of a powerful borough community, the leet became subordinate to the borough. But where, as probably in the case of Rising, a powerful lord consented to divest himself of a portion of his franchise in favour of a comparatively weak borough community, he may have required such an acknowledgment that the mayor (at least in part of his duties) was theoretically an official of his court, exercising functions which properly belonged to his leet.

⁹ Vol ix., p. 49.

to the statute, and adjudge bodily penance to them that keep not the assize.

Ye shall hear and determine the offences of Artificers and Servants, and shall punish them according to the Statute which do offend.

Ye shall raise men armed to suppress unlawful assemblies contrary to the Statute.

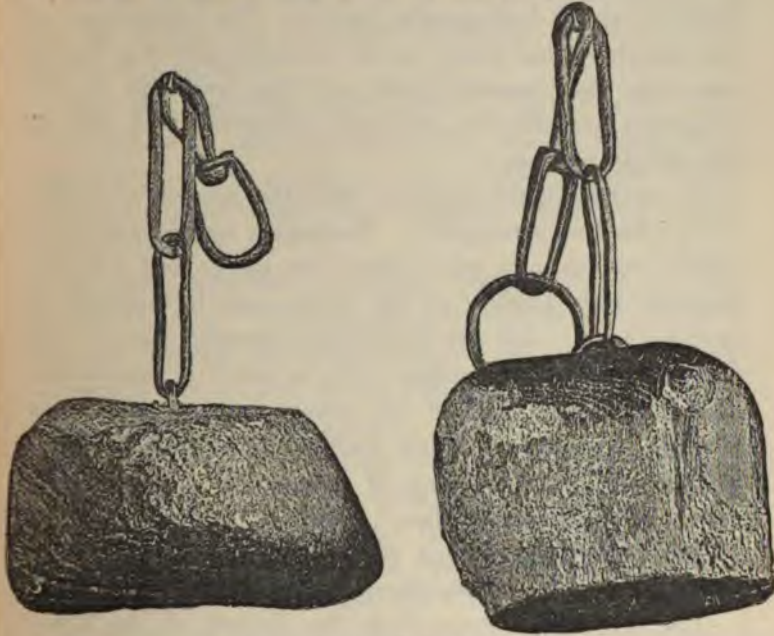
Ye shall yearly chose collectors for the poore.

These duties are to be performed by the mayor himself. No mention is made of any person or body to assist him, and the fact that these two important prerogatives of local government—that of the assize of bread, weights and measures, and of ale—are diverted from the court leet and given to one individual, the mayor, to carry out, confirms the view suggested in note ⁸ that in this department of his duties the mayor had originally taken the place of the bailiff of the leet.

The mayor swore by his oath to adjudge bodily penance to those that kept not the assize; the materials for this penance remain in the clog and shackle still preserved in the castle. Blomefield mentioned they were disused in his time (1742). I know of no other instance of this form of punishment. On Bowen's map of Norfolk, "illustrated with historical extracts," is the following memorandum; "They have two loggs of wood at Castle Rising, instead of a prison, which the prisoners are forced to drag after them, the one called Roaring Meg, the other Pretty Betty."

In the List of Tenants one of the divisions was composed of free tenants, called "burgagers:" of these there were twenty-five in 1642, of whom twenty attorned. These burgagers were, of course, the owners of the burgage tenements. They elected the mayor. The election was in the church on the Monday before Michaelmas Day, and the mayor attended the next court to be sworn. Of the remnants of this office only the mace and seal remain. I have given the mace I think for the first time,

it is a beautiful and rare example ; it is 20 inches long, and is silver ; at the handle end is affixed the borough seal, also of silver. See Plate I., No. 3.



ROARING MEG AND PRETTY BETTY.

The mayor continued until the Reform Act of 1835, but he was not abolished, for Castle Rising was one of the boroughs that kept its existence until the statute of 1883, which disenfranchised all boroughs not affected by the Reform Bill of 1835. It seems a pity that so ancient and picturesque an institution could not have been left alone.

It is a matter of history that on the appointment of justices of the peace in the reign of Edward III.¹ their jurisdiction ran in a great measure parallel to that of the leet of the township, and in process of time attracted

¹ The first statute is 1 Edward III., cap. 16, 1327.

from the leet a great part of its authority and jurisdiction. This would account, in some way, for the decline of the energy of leet jurisdiction throughout the kingdom; in 1642 its power had greatly left it. The jurisdiction of the justices of the peace for the borough of Castle Rising was over the borough itself and the townships of the Woottons and Roydon, and was concurrent with that of the county justices.

In many boroughs aldermen were the justices by statute or by a kind of prescription. Torrington appears somewhat similar to our own case; there the mayor and his predecessor were justices of the peace, and in Sudbury it was the same. But the jurisdiction extended only to the borough itself: the exception here is, and it is remarkable, that the isolated part of the county, consisting of three distinct townships, forming four parishes, should all be subject to the jurisdiction of justices by virtue of an officer of only one of them.²

The earlier proceedings of these justices were unfortunately not kept; the earliest begins in July, 1827.

The following extract from the Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the state of Municipal Corporations, before the Borough Reform Act, 1835, sets out the constitution of the Borough of Rising:

"The Corporation consists of two Aldermen, one of whom is Mayor, a Recorder, and a Sergeant at Mace. The Mayor is chosen annually by the Inhabitants. He is always proposed by the Recorder, and the Aldermen are elected in turn. One of the Aldermen is elected by the Lord of the Manor of Castle Rising, and the other by the owner of about 50 acres of land all burgage tenure within the Borough. They hold their office for life provided they reside within the Borough.

"The Recorder is appointed by the Lord of the Manor, and holds his office during pleasure."

² Manchester absorbed the adjoining villages. See *Manchester Court Leet*, Chetham Society.

The seal of the borough, not of the mayor and commonalty, is given on Pl. I., No. 1, from an old seal; No. 2 from the matrix on the bottom of the mace.

Castle Rising is known not so much for its mayors, as for its having had the right of sending members to the national parliament.

The first members were returned 5th January, 1558, and continued until the Reform Act of 1832 extinguished the right. The members were elected by the mayor, ex-mayor, rector, and the burgagers, owners of certain tenements.

In 1642 there were twenty-five burgagers, and the same number in 1649. These burgage tenements had, previously to the Reform Bill, been bought up in part by the Howards, the owners of the Rising estate; in part by the Cholmondeleys of Houghton; a few remained in the family of a neighbouring squire, Anthony Hamond. There were two inns, one belonging to the Howards, the other to the Cholmondeleys. In these was free entertainment at every election by the two parties, for the Howards appointed one member and the Cholmondeleys the other, and though there were some five or six nominal voters, it is very doubtful whether, except the rector, there was one voter with a legal qualification.³

The election was held in the church, with the mayor as returning officer, the agents of the two families of Howard and Cholmondeley attending.

IV. THE PARISH.

Not only were the three townships isolated in their civil, but also in their ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The

³ This was a contemporary opinion—and it may be the correct one, for Serjeant Merewether writing afterwards (*History of Boroughs*) contends throughout his whole work that burgagers must be residents, and certainly the owners of these burgage tenements were not.

rectors of the four parishes had each the right of proving the wills of the parishioners, and this not as rector, but as commissary of the Lord of Rising.⁴ It is not quite clear that the parishes were independent of the control of the bishop. The rector of Castle Rising is traditionally considered the head of the clergy of the four parishes, as the mayor was certainly the civil superior.

Though scarcely within the title of mediæval history, the relation of the later life in Castle Rising would be incomplete without mentioning the almshouses which form so interesting a feature in the village. (See Plate III., No. 2.) The story of their foundation shows the form of settlement of a small institution in a far-off village. First of all the receiver of the lands of Rising, Owen Shepherd, accounts, in 1609, for £451. 12s. 2½d. paid by him to Richard Hovell, junior, Esquire, for building the almshouses.⁵ His father was owner of Hillington, the next-lying estate, and he seems to have been a Trustee Expenditor of the sum received, to be laid out, under his superintendence, for building the almshouses. They were ready built in the 13th James I., 1615. The letters patent, under the great seal, dated 10th July in that year, confirms the foundation, and the king, on the nomination of Thomas, Earl of Arundel, therein appoints the "*Gubernatricem et duodecim pauperes mulieres*," by name, being the first inmates. The almshouses are styled in the letters patent and in all documents—"The Hospital of the Holy and undivided Trinity of Castle Rising, of the foundation of Henry, Earl of Northampton." The earl did not live to see the completion of his charity.⁶ The grant of the annuity of £100 for their support, dated the same day as the letters patent, is made by Thomas, Earl of Arundel,

⁴ Blomefield, 8vo. vol. ix. page 38.

⁵ Blomefield, vol. ix. p. 55.

⁶ He died, full of honours, in 1614, without issue.



THE CHURCH.

WEST WINDOW AND PART OF ARCADE.



THE HOSPITAL, 1609—1611.

CASTLE RISING, NORFOLK.

"the cousin and next heir of the Right Honorable Henry, late Earl of Northampton." The seal, No. 4, Plate I., is the seal of the Earl of Arundel to this deed. Another deed with the muniments at the hospital requires notice: it is dated 1st July, 1659, and is the dismissal by the Honorable Henry Howard of one Catherine Curson from the office of governess. If the charges are not more than a mere form, her faults must have been great. It is addressed to the Mayor of Castle Rising, to the Assistants of the Hospital, to the Keeper of the Castle, and to the poor Women.

The hospital remains as built (1609—1615) by the charity of the Earl of Northampton, under the direction of Henry Hovell the younger, Esq. It forms a square court. The chapel is on the side opposite the entrance, with the common hall on the one hand and the matron's residence on the other, and around are the rooms of the twelve "poor women," and is a beautiful example of Norfolk brick architecture.

It will be seen by Plate III., No. 2, the gateway has two small towers on either side: these are strongly groined also in brick: the northernmost is the staircase; the southernmost the muniment room, where the documents I have quoted, with the rules in the seventeenth century binding, have been preserved. Over the archway is the room of meeting of the "assistants." We see how carefully every line was carried out. The women wear the cloaks with the Howard badge, and the seal, No. 5, Plate I., is the original seal of the hospital still with the muniments.

By the kindness of the Numismatic Society, a woodcut of the coin illustrative of the mint of Castle Rising is here given. It is the only piece, Mr. H. Montagu, F.S.A., tells me, he has actually met with undoubtedly bearing upon the face of it the name of the town of "Castle Rising," though it had been indicated by previous writers that a

mint existed there. The obverse reads STIEFNE, the reverse HIVN ON RISINGE, being the name of the moneyer who made it.⁷ This coin is now in the collection of Mr. Montagu, who kindly drew my attention to it.



I have now described and traced in history the Castle of Rising with its surrounding incidents and its church. The wreck of the great castle remains, and as much a wreck by its over restoration is the church, but neither in its ruin nor in its almost rebuilding can the grandeur and beauty of either be effaced. I have tried to show you the somewhat complicated government under its early manorial organisation; and by its mayor and its justices, the isolation, not only of the borough but of the three surrounding townships, in their civil and their ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and to add to this, the construction of the fine charity of the Hospital. If in doing this I have created and stimulated an interest in this now quiet and beautiful village, I am content.

NOTE.—The words at the end of the twelve names endorsed in the letter of Robert de Montalt, p. 175, suggest some remark. They made be read:—"Qui elegerunt veteres Scabinos." The deputation of the right or power of election is a feature during the middle ages, and an example which nearly touches the present instance, is found in the roll of the Trinity Guild at Lynn, to

⁷ See *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. ix., 3rd series, pp. 335-343.

which it may be assumed these very "Scabini" belonged. In the 13th Edward III., the "Aldermannus et Confratres ex unanimi Consensu elegerunt [12 names] qui jurati elegerunt [4 names] ad officium Scabinorum."⁸ In the Tolbooth documents, with the records of the Lynn Corporation, it is stated that in the 13th Edward II. the whole community met in the Guildhall and appointed assessors of all the community for the purpose of raising this fine of £4000, to be paid to Robert de Monhaut.⁹ We know that four members of the Guild joined in nominating others for the election of Mayor, and that confirms their interference with the acts of the community. The memorandum at the end of the indorsement may record that the twelve persons whose names are indorsed on the letter were appointed probably at a meeting of the whole community, and they chose the old Scabini as assessors to raise, of the community, the amount required by the letter on which those names are indorsed. It is a suggestion and nothing more.

⁸ See *The Gild Merchant*, by Charles Gross, vol. ii. p. 154.

⁹ See *Our Borough*, by E. M. Beloe, p. 11.

St. Leonard's Priory, Norwich.

COMMUNICATED BY

W. T. BENSLEY, LL.D., F.S.A.

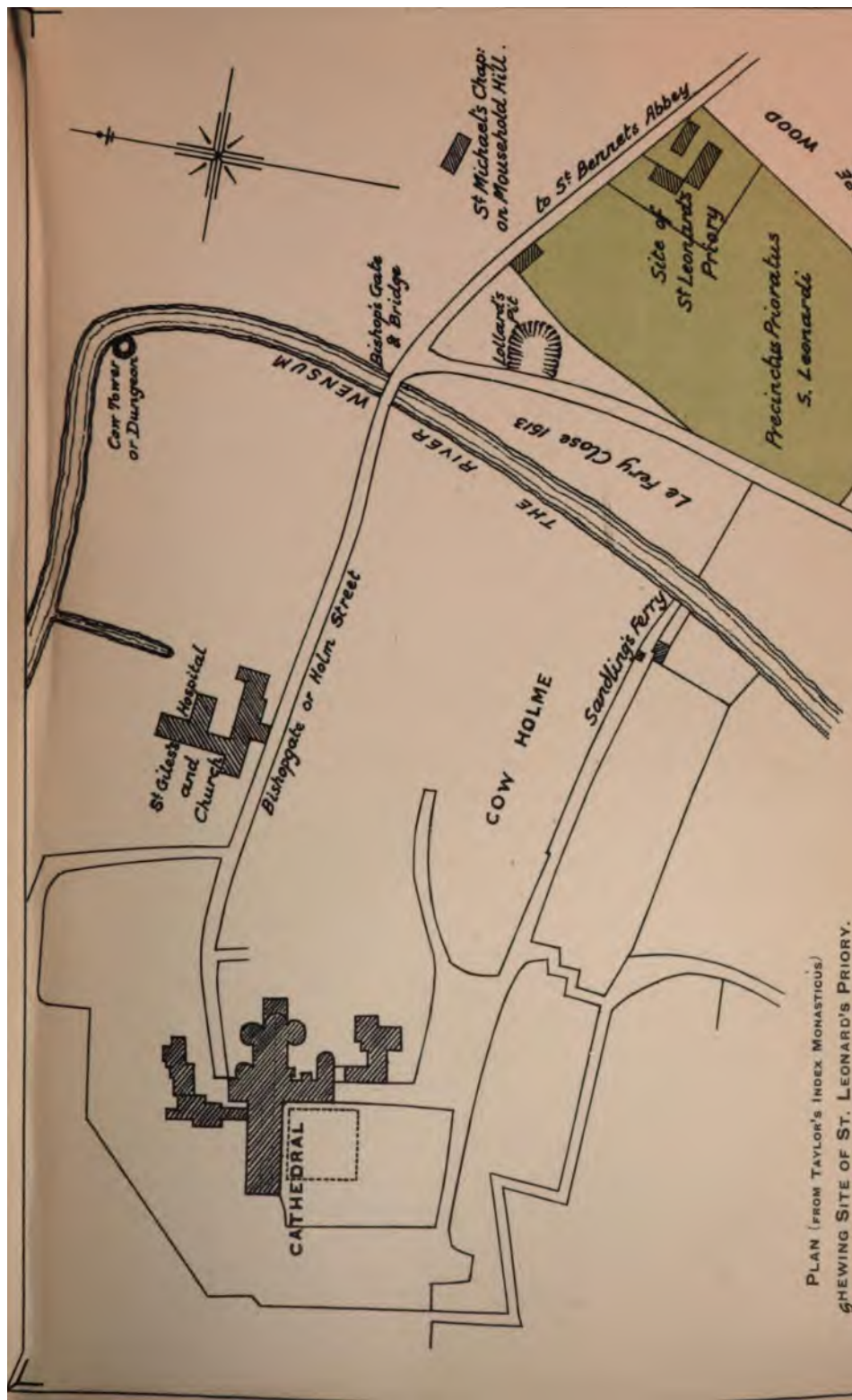
ST. LEONARD, or Lionart, the Confessor, whose place in the Calendar is the 6th of November, was the patron saint of all prisoners, captives, and slaves:—

“Prisones louerd seint leonard ; ful wide i cleopud was,
þe miracles þat he for prisones dude : ne may no man tell.”

A metrical history of his life is to be found in the early *South English Legendary*, or *Lives of Saints*, contained in MS. Laud, 108,¹ in the Bodleian Library, and written about 1280-90, shortly before or simultaneously with the *Legenda Aurea*, which also contains an account of the Saint.

From these and other sources we gather the following summary of his life. He was a French nobleman of great reputation in the court of King Clovis (?) circa A.D. 500 (in which court his parents held high office) and had been early converted and baptized by St. Remigius. He particularly delighted in visiting prisons—the Howard of his day—and those for whom he interceded the king pardoned.

¹ Edited by Dr. Horstmann for the Early English Text Society.



PLAN (FROM TAYLOR'S INDEX MONASTICUS.)
GHEWING SITE OF ST. LEONARD'S PRIORY.

The king offered him a bishopric, which he refused. He preached in Orleans and then in Aquitaine. Desiring solitude, he retired to a wood near Limoges, and turned hermit. The king had a hunting seat in the wood, and there the queen was taken dangerously ill. St. Leonard was sent for, and by his prayer the lives of the queen and her baby were preserved. In gratitude the king offered him much gold and silver; but as he would not accept them, the king gifted him with a portion of the wood, and an abbey. After many years spent in piety and charity, the saint died there in the year 546.

He was particularly invoked by prisoners or slaves, and it is reported of him that he did so many miracles on behalf of prisoners that it would be impossible to relate them.

He is usually represented in a white habit, fastened round the waist with a girdle, and with fetters in his hand. Representations of him exist in some of our Norfolk churches.

In the *Registrum Primum* of Norwich Cathedral Priory, it is stated that Bishop Herbert, the founder, having acquired in the year 1101, by charter from King Henry I. the Manor of Thorpe and Thorpe Wood, built the church of St. Leonard on a certain hill [*in quodam colle*] of the same wood, and the chapel of St. Michael near the said church, in lieu of the chapel of the land of St. Michael, then and now called Tombland, which he had removed in order to make an entrance to the cathedral monastery.

The site of St. Leonard's church and priory is shewn on the accompanying plan (extracted from Taylor's *Index Monasticus*). It occupied the height (afterwards called Surrey Mount) on the south side of the road (now called Gas Hill) leading from the Bishop's Bridge, whilst St. Michael's chapel (afterwards known as Kett's Castle) was situate on the height on the opposite side of the road.

Thorpe Wood must have covered a large extent of ground in former days, and probably spread over all the heights overlooking the city on the east and north-east. In the same wood, upon Mousehold Heath, at a distance of upwards of a mile from St. Leonard's Priory, stood St. Catherine's Chapel, an ancient parochial chapel founded about the time of the Conquest and afterwards reconsecrated in honour of St. William of Norwich, the boy martyr, who is said to have been crucified by the Jews in the reign of king Stephen. It was commonly called *St. William in the Wood*.

In the church of St. Leonard, which he gave to his Norwich monastery, Bishop Herbert placed certain monks to remain there permanently, and others temporarily whilst the cathedral church was in course of erection. The latter had no easy life, for many of the Bishop's letters (which have been edited by Dean Goulburn and the Rev. H. Symonds) show how strongly he urged his monks to press on with the work of building the cathedral. "Often," he writes, "have I stirred you up in person to apply yourselves fervently and diligently to the work of your church, but alas! the work drags on, and in providing materials you shew no enthusiasm. Take heart again; persist untiringly in your work. Let not your hand or your foot rest, shiver in winter's cold, swelter under summer's sun, toil by day, watch by night."

St. Leonard's Priory being a cell to, and dependent upon, the cathedral monastery, the prior or custos of the cell was appointed by the Prior of Norwich, and with the aid of seven or eight monks performed daily service in the adjacent chapel of St. Michael. They had revenues appropriated to their separate use, and were visited once a year by the Prior of Norwich, and they had to account to him annually for all the offerings in the priory church of St. Leonard and the chapel of St. Michael, &c. They

were also obliged to find a scholar and pay an exhibition for him at one of the Universities.

In the cathedral treasury there are 116 rolls of account of this cell from 1348 to 1536, and two inventories, from which we may extract the names of thirty-three priors or keepers of the cell,¹ and particulars of their receipts and expenditure. Take, for instance, the *compotus* for the year 1435, the receipts mainly from offerings at the image of St. Leonard, and including those at the images of the Blessed Virgin, the Holy Cross, St. Anthony, and St. Michael, and a few rents, amounted to £27. 1s. 6½*d.*, and the expenses were £24. 15s. 3½*d.* The church was afterwards of great note for an image of King Henry VI., which was visited by pilgrims from far and near, some of whom reported extraordinary cures to have been performed at it.

The most interesting of the existing records are the two inventories made in the fifteenth century of the goods in the Priory of St. Leonard, copies of which, with translations kindly revised by the Rev. W. Hudson, F.S.A., and W. H. St. John Hope, Esq., are subjoined. Nothing was too great and nothing was too small to be included in these inventories, from the jewelled image of St. Leonard in the chapel to the gridirons and mustard pot in the kitchen.

The service books, vestments, altars and relics in the chapel, are enumerated. The image of St. Leonard had ten rings on its fingers, viz., three on the thumb, two on the forefinger, and five on the middle finger. Around the neck of the image of the Virgin hung an *Agnus Dei*, and on the middle finger was a sapphire ring. The contents of the pantry, buttery, kitchen, hall, chamber, bed-chamber, study, dorter, and chapel are minutely described, and a very interesting catalogue is given of

¹ *Vide* list at end of this paper.

the MSS. and books in the library,¹ and in many cases with their press marks.

In the library of Canterbury Cathedral is an interesting register of events which took place at St. Leonard's Priory during the vacancies of the See of Canterbury and the See of Norwich, from the 3rd Oct., 1500, to the 24th March following, when the affairs of the Diocese of Norwich were administered by Roger Church, acting under a commission from the Prior and Convent of Canterbury. The Commissary held his Courts in the chapel of St. Leonard's Priory, where he granted probate of numerous wills (including those of Bishop Jan and Dame Eleanor Tounshend of Raynham) and instituted about seventy of the clergy to livings in the Diocese of Norwich.

In the Visitations of the Diocese, 1492-1532, edited for the Camden Society by Dr. Jessopp, we find that in 1514, information was given against John Sibly, the Prior of St. Leonard's, that he had rendered his account for the Priory on paper instead of parchment; that he had let things go to wreck and ruin; that he held the office of gardener in the Monastery, and did not perform his duty; that he consumed the goods of the Priory and had not rendered his account for St. Paul's Hospital, and had let two barns be dilapidated through negligence; and that there were quarrels and opprobrious words spoken in the cell of St. Leonard.

¹ At the dissolution of the Priory, the MSS. and books in the library probably shared the fate of those of the other monasteries at Norwich, thus graphically and pathetically described by Bale:—"I have bene also at Norwyche, oure seconde cytie of name, and there all the library monumentes are turned to the use of their grossers, candel makers, sope sellers, and other worldly occupyers; so studyose have we ben there for a common wealth, and so careful of good lernyng. O negligence most unfryndly to our nacion! I woulde have bene sory to have uttered so obscure a facte, had not the ungentilness of the thing requir'd it, to the warnyng of them whiche shall come after, for doying the lyke to the hinderannce of the realme."

Poor man, he had probably to go up and down St. Leonard's hill two or three times a day, and if he had attained a certain age, he no doubt found it very difficult to do this and to attend properly to his various duties. The result, however, of the visitation was that the Bishop enjoined that the Prior of St. Leonard's be removed, and not admitted to any other office.

At the subsequent Visitations there was not much to report, but in 1532 complaint was made against the Bishop himself, that he had taken away soil from "Lollards' Pittes."

At the dissolution of the monasteries the site and demesnes of this cell, comprising about fourteen acres, were granted by King Henry VIII. to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, A.D. 1538, whose son, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, built a sumptuous house upon the spot, which he called Mount Surrey.

It is thus referred to by Michael Drayton the poet, in his *Epistle by the Lady Geraldine to the Earl of Surrey*.

"Why art thou slack, whilst no man puts his hand
To raise the Mount where Surrey's Tower must stand;
Or who the groundsil of that work doth lay
Whilst like a wanderer thou abroad dost stray?
When shall the Muses by fair Norwich dwell,
To be the city of the learned well?
Or when shall that fair hoof-ploughed spring distill
From great Mount Surrey, out of Leonard's Hill?"

The Earl was attainted and beheaded in 1547, and his estates were forfeited to the Crown.

Here in 1549 was the camping ground of Kett. Blomefield states that St. Leonard's Priory was totally demolished by Kett and his rebels,¹ and that they seized on the noble palace of Mount Surrey, and spoiled whatever they found in it,

¹ Russell, in his *History of Kett's Rebellion*, remarks:—"Kett is commonly considered a rebel, yet the cause he advocated was so just, that one cannot but feel he deserved a better name and a better fate."

converting it into a prison, where they confined Sir Roger Woodhouse, Serjeant Cattyn, Serjeant Gawdy, and other gentlemen whom they caught.

According to the same writer, Queen Elizabeth granted this place in 1562 to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk,¹ and on her progress through Norfolk and Suffolk in 1578 she, on the 20th August, "dined at my Lord of Surrey's² at Surrey House, on Mushold Hill, where were the French

C. 1422.

INVENTORIUM OMNIUM BONORUM EXISTENCIUM IN PRIORATU
SANCTI LEONARDI IN RESCESSU FRATRIS JOHANNIS
BERGH³ ET IN ADVENTU FRATRIS RICARDI HELYNGTONE.⁴

CAPELLA. Item unum missale. Item aliud divisum. j manuale.⁵
j gradale.⁶ j magnum diurnale cum psalterio⁷ integro.
Item j mappa diaprid cum frontello⁸ habente agnos et
grifones. Item alie tres mappe diaprid. Item ij mappe
non diaprid. Item ij manutergia diaprid ante lava-
torium.⁹ ij rondeletts¹⁰ pro manibus tergendis. Item j
vestimentum¹¹ rubium per Thomam Hevyngham. Aliud
pro festis et tercium pro feriis. ij corporalia¹² cum
clausuris. ij calices cum ij coeliaribus. ij pulvinaria.

¹ The fourth Duke, son and heir of the above-mentioned Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey.

² This must have been Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, son of Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk.

^{3 & 4} Amongst the extant Compoti, or Rolls of Accounts of this Priory, are those of John Bergh, in 1421, 1423-4, and 1425. He was succeeded in 1426 by John Walsham. Probably Richard Helyngton was Prior, and this Inventory was made in 1422-3. The Compotus for that year is missing. Both John Bergh and Richard Helyngton had previously held offices as Obedientiaries in the Cathedral Priory at Norwich.

⁵ The occasional services for use by a priest were contained in the Manuale.

⁶ The musical portions of the Altar services were contained in the Graduale or Grayle.

Ambassadors also, at a most rare and delicate dinner and banquet."

Only a few fragments now remain of the walls of the Priory and St. Michael's Chapel, and the deep well of the Priory.

Mr. Henry Snowdon is the owner and occupier of the modern house standing on the site of the Priory. One of the finest panoramic views of Norwich is to be obtained from the grounds.

C. 1422.

AN INVENTORY OF ALL THE GOODS EXISTING IN THE PRIORY OF SAINT LEONARD ON THE OUTGOING OF BROTHER JOHN BERGH, AND ON THE INCOMING OF BROTHER RICHARD HELYNGTONE.

Item, one mass book. Item, another divided, one CHAPEL manual, one grayle, one large diurnal with the complete psalter. Item, one diapered altarcloth with a front containing lambs and gryphons. Item, three other diapered altarcloths. Item, two altarcloths not diapered. Item, two diapered towels before the lavatory, two rondlets for wiping the hands. Item, one red vestment, the gift of Thomas Hevyngham; another for festivals, and a third for ferials. Two corporas cases, two chalices with two spoons,

⁷ The Psalterium contained the Psalms as used at the different Hours, together with the Litany.

⁸ The narrow strip of embroidery sewn to the front edge of the linen altar cloth.

⁹ Probably the water drain in the sacristy, where the priest washed his hands before vesting, or it may be what is now called a piscina.

¹⁰ Roller or jack towels?

¹¹ Probably a chasuble, given by Thomas Hevyngham, Sacrist at Norwich Cathedral Priory, 1403-6.

¹² White linen cloths folded and placed on the altar in the service of the mass, beneath the Sacred Elements.—*Prompt. Parv.*

In dicta
virga unum
monile in-
cinctum cum
vi lapidibus
rubiis.²

parva crux ornata cum petris ex una parte & ex alia cum crucifixo. Item ij magna monilia¹ argenti & deaurati. In digitis sancti leonardi sunt annuli x quorum tres in pollice ij in indice & quinque in medio. Item, in vecte ferrea que est ante ymaginem pendent tres rami de coraff ornati quorum unus est parvus. Item v paria³ bedys de geet quorum j par habet pater noster deauratum et aliud par cum pater noster argenti et grosso⁴ deaurati et j broche deauratum. Item, j par de cedro cum pater noster argenti. Item, v paria bedys de aumbyr quorum unum par sunt langetys.⁵ aliud par cum uno broche argenti. tertium par cum uno broche auri. & quartum cum j bokyl argenti. Item quatuor beryll ornati et dens hominis ornatus argento. In tabernaculo sancti leonardi ymago argenti Comitis Suffolchie & ymago mulieris argenti. Item una navis argenti cum anchora & cathena cum dente & oculo⁶ argenti. In predicta vecte pendet unum genu argenti & j bede.⁷ Item circa collum beate virginis est agnus dei⁸ cum uno firmaculo. Item in medio digito anulus cum sapphiro. Item ad pectus ejusdem est unum pectorale & par precum⁹ de geet cum j broche. In area iiij scabella & j situla plumbi. [j bede de geet].¹⁰

PANTERIA. ij mappe pro tabula sociorum ij mappe pro tabula servientium. Item ij manutergia longa. Item vi sanapis.¹¹ Item napets xij. Item ij parve towalys pro pane. Item

¹ Monile, a jewelled ornament, ouche or brooch.—*Prompt. Parv.*

² Added in the margin.

³ Pair, applied to any number of like or equal things, and not limited, as now, to two only. Thus a "peire of bedes," [Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, prologue, 159] = a set of beads.—Skeat's *Etym. Dicty.*

⁴ Grosso, rudis, hebes.—*Du Cange.*

⁵ Long beads, gett for bedys.—*Prompt. Parv.*

⁶ A model of an eye.

⁷ Bede—bead—a perforated ball used for counting prayers. The old sense

mented with stones on one side, and with a crucifix on the other. Item, two large jewels of silver and gilt. On the fingers of Saint Leonard are ten rings, of which three are on the thumb, two on the index finger, and five on the middle finger. Item, on the iron bar, which is before the image, hang three ornamented branches of coral, one of which is small. Item, five pairs of beads of jet, one pair of which has a gilt pater noster, and another pair with a pater noster of silver and rough gilt, and one gilt brooch. Item, one pair of cedar with a pater noster of silver. Item, five pairs of beads of amber, of which one pair is of long beads, another pair with a brooch of silver, a third pair with a brooch of gold, and a fourth with a buckle of silver. Item, four beryls ornamented and a man's tooth ornamented with silver. In the tabernacle of Saint Leonard a silver image of the Earl of Suffolk and a silver image of a woman. Item, one ship of silver with an anchor and chain, with a tooth and eye of silver. On the aforesaid bar hang one knee of silver and one bead. Item, about the neck of the Blessed Virgin is an Agnus Dei with a clasp. Item, on the middle finger a ring with a sapphire. Item, at her breast is a pectoral and a pair of beads of jet, with one brooch. On the floor, four stools and one lead pail. [One bead of jet].

On t
said rod,
jewel
round
with six
stones.

Two tablecloths¹² for the table of the brethren, two PANTRY.
tablecloths for the table of the servants. Item, two long
towels. Item, six savenaps. Item, twelve napkins. Item,

is "a prayer;" and the bead was so called because used for counting prayers.
—Skeat's *Etym. Dicty*.

⁸ "An Agnus Day about hir nec."—*Paston Letters*, i. 479.

⁹ See note 7.

¹⁰ The words within brackets are struck through.

¹¹ Sanop—savenap—a napkin.—*Prompt. Parv*.

¹² Or bordecloths.—*Paston Letters*, iii. 465.

ij roundletts. j cupbord cloth. v salerys quorum duo habent cooperacula. iij candelabra de latton¹ quorum unum habet duos ramos. ij candelabra lignea. iij pecie argenti quarum una habet cooperculum. x coclearia argenti. de utensilibus ij potell.² ij quart. ij pynt. j cultellus pro trenchar³. j parvum stonde. j vas rotundum pro cibis conservandis. ij languncule de peuty. j barell cum verious. j aliud cum aceto. Item unum hache pro hostio. j locre pro sale.

PROMPTU-
ARIUM. ij barell pro servisia monachorum. j trow. j parvum barel pro alegre.³ iiij barell maiora. v tankards maiora et minora. ij olle terree. j parvum tubbe. j hache. ij cuvatts (?)⁴

COQUINA. iiij^{or} olle eree maiores et minores. iiij pannys maiores et minores. j patella cum pede. ij caudron. ij parve olle pro potagiis per Ricardum Mydylton.⁵ ij pothokys. ij brendled.⁶ j fleshhok. j scomour. j streniour. ij rostynghern. j grate. iij spetys ferrei. ij brochys ferri. Item ij dressyngknyvys. j pepyr querne. iij morterys de marmore et ij pestyll de ligno. j slyce ferri. iij vasa lignea pro diuersis potagiis. j locre pro sale. j scutella.⁷ j soo. j aundhern. j cobbard. j securis. ij baskets. ij chariour. xij platterys. xij disci. xij saucerys. Item vj platerys. vj disci. v saucerys.

[Item, j hok. In claustro unum fodyr et dimidium plumbi.⁸]

AULA. ij bankerys rubii coloris et glauci. j dosser et j banker

¹ Latten, a mixed metal; a kind of brass or bronze.—Skeat's *Dicty*. Latten or tinn.—*Norf. Archy*. vii. 78.

² Pottle, a liquid measure containing four pints. "You'll crack a quart together; ha! will you not Master Bardolph? Yes, sir, in a pottle pot."—Shakespeare, *Hen. IV.*, act iv. scene iii.

³ An acid or vinegar made from ale.

⁴ Cuva = keever, a brewing vessel or mashing tub.

two little towels for the bread. Item, two roundlets, one cupboard cloth, five salts, two of which have covers; three candlesticks of latten, one of which has two branches; two wooden candlesticks, three pieces of silver, one of which has a cover; ten spoons of silver; of (drinking) vessels—two pottles, two quarts, two pints. One knife for the trencher, one little stand, one round vessel for keeping food in, two flagons of pewter, one barrel with verjuice, one other with vinegar. Item, one hatch for the door, one locker for the salt.

Two barrels for the monks' beer, one trough, one little barrel for alegar, four larger barrels, five tankards, larger and smaller; two earthen pots, one small tub, one hatch, two kéevers (?) BUTTERY.

Four brazen pots, larger and smaller; four pans, larger and smaller; one plate with a foot, two caldrons, two small pots for potages, the gift of Richard Mydylton; two pot-hooks, two brandlets, one flesh-hook, one scummer, one strainer, two roasting irons, one grate, three iron spits, two iron broches, two dressing knives, one pepper quern, three marble morters and two wooden pestles, one iron slice, three wooden vessels for divers potages, one locker for salt, one metal pan, one tub, one andiron, one cupboard (dresser), one axe, two baskets, two chargers, twelve platters, twelve dishes, twelve saucers. Item, six platters, six dishes, five saucers. KITCHEN.

[Item, one hook. In the cloister, one fodder-and-a-half of lead.]

Two bankers of red and light green colour, one dosser HALL.

⁵ Richard Middleton was Master Cellarer in the Cathedral Priory, in 1400 and 1402.

⁶ Brendlet (for brandlet) = a trivet or tripod.—*Prompt. Parv.*

⁷ Dim. of scutum, a shield.—*Winchester Obedy. Rolls*, 508.

⁸ The words within brackets are added by another hand.

de Worstede blodii et blueti coloris. vj cervicalia (?) rubia cum volucris. Item vj alii antiqui rubii. Item vj rubii et blodii coloris. Item j longa tabula pour le dees diuisa. Item alia tabula cotidiana. iij trostelys pro magna tabula. Item ij longe forme. vij cathedre. ij pelves. ij lavacra. j chafour. j magnum lavacrum. j cupbord. j checker cum pertinenciis.

CAMERA.

Una rubia tabula et alia parva tercia antiqua. Item ij paria tripedum. iij scabella. j cathedra longa. j cupbord. j pelvis pro rastura. j par belwys. j ferforke. j fersouyl. j magnum serene. j lavacrum pendens. j dossier de blu et bluet. iiij^{or} bankers blodii et rubii coloris.

CAMERA

LECTI.

Unum venge
unusgladius¹

Unus lectus tabulatus cum celura et tester et j pannus depictus cum Christofero. iij cathedre longe. j longum deske in qua (*sic*) custodiuntur monimenta.² j cornu ornatum pro ydromello. j godet³ cum cooperculo argenti. j pecia⁴ cum cooperculo precii v marcarum. vi coclearia argenti. ij nuces⁵ nigre cum cooperculis ornate argento et deaurate. j cooperculum bonum pro cipho sancti leonardi per Johannem Elyngham.⁶ j polax. j rowel. ij archus cum ij diseffe sagittarum. j mortar ereum cum j pestyl ferre. iiij buffets. j stillatorium terreum. j chafour terreum. j superaltare. j quaterna de corpore Christi. j powdyrbox depictum. iij cultelli de maser ornati argento et deaurati.

[Item una pecia deaurata cum cooperculo de dono domini Ricardi Helyngton].⁷

¹ Added in the margin.

² Munimenta.

³ Godetus, scyphi species.—*Du Cange*.

⁴ Piece of plate. Here probably a wine cup.

⁵ Nux = vasis species, a forma sic dicta.—*Du Cange*. Made out of a cocoanut.

⁶ See p.198, note 5.

⁷ Dominus, a title of honour or dignity. Hence Spanish Don and M. E. Dan (*Chaucer's C. T.*), or Dawn (*Paston Letters*, iii. 330.) Richard de

and one banker of Worsted of blue and azure colour, six red cushions (?) [ornamented] with birds. Item, six other old red bankers (?). Item, six of red and blue colour. Item, one long table for the dais divided. Item, another table in daily use, three trestles for the large table. Item, two long forms, seven seats, two basons, two ewers, one chafer, one great laver, one cupboard, one checker with the appurtenances.

One red table and another small, a third old. Item, CHAMBER.
two pairs of tripods, three stools, one long seat, one cupboard, one bason for shaving, one pair of bellows, one fire-fork, one fire-shovel, one great screen, one hanging laver, one dosser of blue and azure, four bankers of blue and red colour.

One bed of boards with a top and tester, and one BED-
cloth painted with [Saint] Christopher, three long seats, CHAMBER.
one long desk in which the muniments are kept, one ornamented horn for mead, one godet with a cover One wooden
of silver, one piece with a cover of the value of five spade, one
marks, six spoons of silver, two black nuts with covers sword.
ornamented with silver and gilt, one good cover for the cup of Saint Leonard, the gift of John Elyngham; one poleaxe, one rowel, two bows with two half-sheaves of arrows, one brass mortar with one pestle of iron, four buffets, one earthen still, one earthen chafer, one super-altar, one quire of Corpus Christi,⁸ one powder-box painted, three knives of maser ornamented with silver and gilt.

[Item, one piece gilt with a cover, the gift of Dan Richard Helyngton.]

Helyngton was Communar, 1406-7-8; Almoner, 1409; and Sacrist, 1414, at the Cathedral Priory. The words within brackets added in another hand.

⁸ Probably a book of prayers, noted for the service on the festival of Corpus Christi.

STUDIUM.

Una cista abiegna in qua servantur mappe videlicet tres mappe diapid quarum j longitudinis xij virgarum alia vj virgarum tertia v virgarum. iij manutergia diapryd quorum j longitudinis xij virgarum alia vj virgarum tertia iij virgarum et est lata. Item j longa mappa x virgarum. ij longe towalys. j par linthiaminum. j mappa antiqua pro servientibus. Item [j mappa nova pro tabula cotidiana¹]. ij towalys longe pro tabula maiori. ij curta manutergia [ij roundletts²]. j cuppbord cloth. x napets [de panno lineo iij virgarum et dimidie³] et apparatus sepulcri. j cista antiqua. [in panteria.⁴] vexillum sancti leonardi. j mollspade. j instrumentum pro talpis capiendis. j parvum stonde. ij hersevys. j securis. ij hamys. j soudingern. iij crombys⁵ pro gardino et alia instrumenta multa. j flagspade. j muckfork. j pikforke. j bakyng pann erea. vj serenys. iij vasa vitria. ij schariours⁶ pro butiro et ij depicte. iij sarre magne quarum j pro lapidibus et j parva sarra. vj hokys debiles. vj weggs ferri. ij sacci. apparatus lampadis. j schesmeni de ossibus. j par scolys (*sic*) cum diversis ponderibus. iij sucurers. j cromb pro fonte. [in cera xij libre. ij lamine plumbi. iij masse magne plumbi et⁷] j parvum barel. ij towalys pro media tabula. ij towalys minora pro minori tabula.

DORMI-
TORIUM.

ij scabella. j sclothsek. j klok pro singulis lectis sociorum.
ij scabella.

CAPELLA.

j magnum portiforium⁸ de dono domini Roberti Laken-

¹ The words within brackets are struck through.

² Ditto.

³ Ditto.

⁴ The words interlined in another hand.

⁵ Crombe, or crome, a staff or pole with a hooked end.

⁶ Charyowre = a charger; a great platter.—*Prompt. Parv.* "She brought forth butter in a lordly dish."—*Judges*, v. 25.

One deal chest in which tablecloths are kept, to wit STUDY.
 three tablecloths diapered, one of which is of the length
 of 12 yds., another of 6 yds., a third of 5 yds.; three
 towels diapered, one of which is of the length of 12 yds.,
 another of 6 yds., a third of 4 yds., and it is wide. Item,
 one long tablecloth of 10 yds., two long towels, one pair of
 sheets, one old tablecloth for the servants. [Item, one new
 tablecloth for the daily table], two long towels for the
 larger table, two short towels [two roundlets], one cupboard
 cloth, ten napkins [of linen, of $3\frac{1}{2}$ yds.], and the furniture
 of the sepulchre, one old chest [in the pantry], the banner
 of Saint Leonard, one mole spade (?), one instrument
 for catching moles, one small stand, two hair sieves, one
 axe, two hammers, one soldering iron, three cromes for
 the garden, and many other implements; one flag-spade,
 one muck-fork, one pitch-fork, one brass baking-pan, six
 screens, four glass vessels, two chargers for butter, and
 two painted; three large saws, one of which is for stones,
 and one small saw; six worn-out hooks, six wedges of
 iron, two sacks, apparatus of a lamp, one [set of] chess-
 men of bone, one pair of scales with divers weights,
 three sucriers, one crome for the well. [in wax twelve
 pounds, two sheets of lead, three large weights of lead
 and] one little barrel, two towels for the middle table,
 two smaller towels for the smaller table.

Two stools, one clothes sack, one cloak for each of the DORTER.
 beds of the brethren, two stools.

One great porthos, the gift of Dan Robert Lakenham CHAPEL.

⁷ The words within brackets are struck out, and the fourteen words following are added in another hand.

⁸ The Hour Services were contained, so far as the text was concerned, in the Breviarium or Portiforium; the musical portions in the Antiphonarium. The word Portiforium is found under numerous forms, such as portesse, portous, porthors, porthos, &c. "On my portos here I make an oth."—*Chaucer*.

ham.¹ aliud portiforium divisum et j debile. j legenda de temporali et alia sanctorum. magnum psalterium. j antiphonarium.² ij ordinalia.³ j martilogium.⁴ j situla pro aqua benedicta. j candelabrum ligneum. j cathedra. j stokar.⁵ j orlegium⁶ antiquum. Biblia K. i. in communi. Magister historiarum K. ij in communi. Moralia⁷ Gregorii K. iiij in communi. Moralia abbreviata K. v. in communi. Tabula super moralia cum gregorio super Ezechiel K. vj. Augustinus⁸ super genesim et Johannem K. vij. Augustinus de doctrina christiana K. viij. libellus honeste vite cum tabula de civitate dei⁹ K. x. Concordencie K. xij in communi. Brito¹⁰ super bibliam K. xij in communi. Beda de tabernaculo federis cum aliis K. xiiij. liber sententiarum¹¹ K. xv. Meditationes bernardi¹² cum aliis K. xvj. Prima pars summe thome¹³ K. xvij. Prima secunde thome K. xvij. Secunda secunde thome K. xix. Sermones, K. xx. Sermones qui incipiunt honeste ambulemus¹⁴ K. xxj. Decreta K. xxij. Liber vi^{tus} & vii^{mus} cum tabula martiniani¹⁵ in quaterno K. xxij. Summa hostiensis¹⁶ K. xxiiij. Innocentius super decretales K. xxv. Reportorium (*sic*) durandi¹⁷ cum suffragiis monachorum K. xxvj.

¹ Henry de Lakenham was Prior of the Cathedral Priory, 1289—1309.

² See note 8, p. 207.

³ The Ordinal was a book containing the general rules relating to the *ordo divini servitii*.

⁴ The Martyrologium was, in the earlier times, the register of names of Saints and Martyrs; at a later period a register of the obits and benefactions of those who had been received into the fraternity, whose names were recited day by day in the Chapter, and suitable prayers said.

⁵ Poker (?)

⁶ Horologium.

⁷ *Morals on the Book of Job*, by St. Gregory the Great.

⁸ St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo.

⁹ The *City of God* of Augustine, "the noblest work which the genius of man had as yet contributed to the support of Christianity."—Milman's *History of Christianity*.

another porthos divided, and one worn, one legend *de temporalibus*, and another of the saints, a large psalter, one antiphonar, two ordinals, one martiloge, one bucket for holy water, one wooden candlestick, one seat, one stoker, one old clock. Bible K. i. in common [use?]. Magister historiarum, K. ij. in common. Gregory's moralia, K. iiij. in common. Moralia abridged, K. v. in common. Table upon moralia with Gregory on Ezekiel, K. vj. Augustine on Genesis and John, K. vij. Augustine on Christian doctrine, K. viij. A tract *honeste vite* with a table on the city of God, K. x. Concordances, K. xij. in common. Brito on the Bible, K. xij. in common. Bede on the tabernacle of the covenant, with others, K. xiiij. Liber Sentenciarum, K. xv. Meditations of Bernard, with others, K. xvj. The first part of the summa of Thomas, K. xvij. First division of the second part of Thomas, K. xvij. Second division of the second part of Thomas, K. xix. Sermons, K. xx. Sermons which begin *honeste ambulemus*, K. xxj. Decrees, K. xxij. Books 6 and 7 with the tabula of Martinianus, in quires, K. xxij. Summa Hostiensis, K. xxiiij. Innocent on the Decretals, K. xxv. Repertory of Durandus *cum suffragiis monachorum*, K. xxvj. Bartholo-

¹⁰ William Brito, a native of Wales and a Franciscan Monk, died in 1356. The treatise is probably his *Summa*, an explanatory glossary of words occurring in Holy Writ.

¹¹ By Peter Lombard, Bishop of Paris, *The Master of Sentences*. This work was the main source of the knowledge of theology in the middle ages.

¹² Bernard of Clairvaux, grounding his system of scholastic theology on faith.

¹³ Thomas Aquinas, 1225-74, the greatest of the schoolmen. His *Summa Theologiae* consists of three parts, and has been regarded as the most perfect body of divinity.—Blunt's *Theological Dictionary*.

¹⁴ Romans xiii. 13, part of the Epistle for Advent Sunday.

¹⁵ A collection of references for the definition and explanation of things in Canon Law.

¹⁶ *Summa Dñi Henrici Cardinalis Hostiensis*.

¹⁷ *Repertorium Juris* by Durandus, 1237-96, one of the most learned lawyers of the thirteenth century.

Bartholomæus de proprietatibus¹ K. xxvij in communi. hugucio² K. xxviiij in communi. liber gallicus de passione Christi, K. xxx.

Isti libri sunt sine literis.³ porphirius in quaterno. Aristoteles super phisicis. Grescismus.⁴ Item unus quaternus qui incipit Exultavit cor meum.

Isti libri deficiunt. Postilla super lucam et marchum K. iij, per Johannem Hoo.⁵ Sexdecim originalia ancelmi cum Augustino de xij abusionibus⁶ K. xj. Augustinus de civitate dei cum pastorale gregorii,⁷ K. ix. Ysidorus de gramatica K. xix.

CURIA. ij barwys. iij vange. iij souyll. j pikes. vij scale. j falx. iiij hokys pro silva. ij pipys & j hogyshed pro aceto. j magnum fat. mille latthis. iij ropys grossi quorum ij in campanili. Item iij ropys minores.

[*In dorso*] Inventorium Sancti Leonardi in rescensu fratris Johannis Bergh. Pars supprioris.

1452-3.

INVENTORIUM OMNIUM BONORUM EXISTENCIUM IN PRIORATU
SANCTI LEONARDI IN RESCESSU FRATRIS JOHANNIS
ELYNGHAM ET IN ADVENTU FRATRIS RICARDI WALSHAM.

In primis j missale. Item aliud missale divisum. Item j gradale. Item psalterium magnum cum litera A. xxix. Item j diurnale magnum cum psalterio. Item j manuale cum litera h. xviiij. Item v panni pro

¹ The Mediæval *Cyclopedia of Science*.

² No doubt the Vocabularium of Ugucio or Hugo, Bishop of Ferrara towards the close of the twelfth century.

³ Letters or press marks.

⁴ Grescismus appears in the list of books on Grammar in the library of Titchfield Abbey. The writer was Ebrardus Bethuniensis.

mew *de proprietatibus* [rerum], K. xxvij, in common. Hugucio, K. xxvij, in common. A French book on the passion of Christ, K. xxx.

These books are without letters—Porphyry, in quires, Aristotle on physics. Grecismus. Item, one quarto, which begins *exultavit cor meum*.

These books are imperfect [or missing]—Glosses upon Luke and Mark, K. iij, the gift of John Hoo; sixteen Originalia of Anselm with Augustine on the twelve abuses, K. xj. Augustine on the city of God with Gregory's Pastorale, K. ix. Isidore on grammar, K. xix.

Two barrows, three wooden spades, three shovels, one COURTYARD. mattock, seven ladders, one sickle, four hooks for wood, two pipes and one hogshead for vinegar, one large vat, one thousand laths, three large ropes, two of which are in the belfry. Item, three smaller ropes.

[*Indorsed*] Inventory of Saint Leonard on the outgoing of Brother John Bergh. The sub-prior's part.

1452-3.

AN INVENTORY OF ALL THE GOODS EXISTING IN THE PRIORY
OF SAINT LEONARD, ON THE OUTGOING OF BROTHER JOHN
ELYNGHAM, AND ON THE INCOMING OF BROTHER RICHARD
WALSHAM.

Imprimis, one mass book. Item, another divided. Item, one grayle. Item, one large psalter with the letter A. xxix. Item, one large diurnal with the psalter. Item, one manual with the letter H. xviii. Item, five cloths for

⁵ J. de Hoo was Prior or custos of the Cell at Gt. Yarmouth, 1405.

⁶ De xij abusionibus sæculi.

⁷ St. Gregory's *Liber Pastoralis Curae*, a treatise on the responsibilities and duties of the Episcopal Office.

coopertura altaris de quibus iij dyapryd & ij plani linei. Item iiij frontella, quorum unum est rubii sateyn cum albis cervis & vinetis inbroudatis aliud partitum cum rubio & albo consimili vineto aliud rubium inbroudatur cum volucris. Item ij panni steyned rubii & albi coloris palyd pro altari quorum superior depingitur in medio cum patibulo et inferior depingitur cum salutacione angelica. Item ij pallia¹ antiqua pro inferiori parte altaris unum² coloris aliud album. Item alius pannus aureus partiti coloris palyd rubium mixtum & album mixtum. Item vj casule corporalium una cum salutacione angelica cum iiij scutis inbroudatis alia rubia cum literis S & N. Alia rubia cum arbore aureo & leone aureo ad pedem. Alia nigri coloris cum rosis. Alia viridis coloris cum cruce & iiij scutis antiqua. Alia antiqua blodia cum aquila aurea. Item iiij manutergia panni linei quorum unum est dyapred. Item unus novus calix deauratus ponderis xvij unciarum dimidii & j quarterii. Item alius calix antiquus ponderis xix unciarum preter ij denarios. Item ij coeliaria parva pro eisdem ponderis j quarterii & vj denariorum. Item j pixis argenteus pro sacramento ponderis viij unciarum preter iiij denarios. Item osculatorium³ argenteum et deauratum ponderis iiij unciarum dimidie et ij denarios. Item ij phiole argenteae deaurate ponderis xij unciarum et dimidie. Item j le berel stans super pedem argenteum cum reliquiis ponderis iiij unciarum. Item j casula rubia damasc cum floribus aureis pro principalibus festis ex dono domini Thome Cambrygge. Item alia rubia de panno aureo ex dono domini Thome Hevyngham. Item alba casula debilis inbrewdata cum literis M coronatis ex dono magistri Johannis Derham. Item iij alie casule

¹ Pallium = a coverlet, pall or curtain.

² The word has been obliterated.

the covering of the altar, of which three are diapered and two of plain linen. Item, four fronts, of which one is of red satin with white stags and vines embroidered; another with a similar vine parti-coloured red and white; another, red, is embroidered with birds. Item, two steyned cloths of red and white colour paled for the altar, of which the upper [cloth] is painted in the middle with a cross and the lower is painted with the angelic salutation. Item, two old palls for the lower part of the altar, one of colour, the other white. Item, another golden cloth parti-coloured paled red mixed and white mixed. Item, six corporas cases, one with the angelic salutation with four embroidered shields, the other red with the letters S and N. Another red, with a golden tree and a golden lion at the foot. Another of black colour with roses. Another of green colour with a cross and four shields, old. Another old blue with a golden eagle. Item, four towels of linen cloth, of which one is diapered. Item, one new chalice gilt of the weight of $18\frac{3}{4}$ ozs. Item, another old chalice of the weight of 19 ozs. besides 2 dwts. Item, two small spoons for them of the weight of a quarter and 6 dwts. Item, one silver pyx for the Sacrament, of the weight of 8 ozs. besides 4 dwts. Item, a silver and gilt pax of the weight of $4\frac{1}{2}$ ozs. 2 dwts. Item, two silver gilt cruets of the weight of $12\frac{1}{2}$ ozs. Item, one beryl standing upon a silver foot, with relics, of the weight of 4 ozs. Item, one red damask chasuble with golden flowers, for principal feasts, the gift of Dan Thomas Cambrygge. Item, another red, of golden cloth, the gift of Dan Thomas Hevyngham. Item, a white chasuble, worn, embroidered with letters M crowned, the gift of Master John Derham. Item, three other old chasubles, for ferials. Item, two

³ A pax. See p. 198, note 4.

antique pro ferialibus. Item ij panni albi linei cum signis passionis Christi pro tempore quadragesime. Item j lectrinum cum panno de Tapsery cum ymagine Sancti Leonardi. Item iij pelves pendentes coram altari de auricalco. Item ij parva candelabra de auricalco super altare. Item j novum tabernaculum pro pixide sacramenti. Item j crux lignea cum pede petrino. Item ij vinegerys de pewter. Item j olla pro vino acro de pewter. Item iij parve cruces pro indulgenciis quarum una est pro capella sancti Michaelis. Item ij custodie pro finibus altaris rubie damasc inbrowdata cum cervis albis et vineto aureo. Item alie due custodie blodii coloris et floribus inbrowdatis. Item vj plumbetts rotundi inclusi corio. Item v plumbetts longi super altare. Item j pixis eburneus. Item pilius sancti leonardi. Item zona sancte Marie viridis coloris inclusa veste purpurea aurea. Item in digitis sancti leonardi viij anuli. Item supra caput sancti leonardi j navis argenteus cum ymagine mulieris et aliis appendentibus eidem navi ponderis viij unciarum et j quarterii. Item ymago antiqua Comitiss Suffolciæ cum armis ponderis vj unciarum dimidie et iiij denarios. Item vj pisces parve argenti ponderis j uncie dimidie preter ij denarios. Item parva ymago pueri argentea ex dono Andree Howgard militis ponderis j uncie preter ij denarios. Item j coclear argenteum. j pecia argenti pro brachio ponderis ij unciarum et j quarterii. Item iij pecia de corallo. Item j par precum de awmbyr circa collum sancti leonardi. Item v paria simplicia de awmbyr. Item vj paria de geth quorum v cum paternoster argenteo. Item j berel rotundum cum reliquiis inclusis argentiis ex dono domini Johannis ffastolf militis. Item j par precum de cedro cum paternoster argenteo. Item circa collum beate Virginis

¹ Costers or Ridels were narrow curtains suspended from rods, projecting from the wall or reredos, at the ends of an altar.

cloths of white linen with the signs of the Passion of Christ, for Lent. Item, one lectern, with a cloth of tapestry with an image of Saint Leonard. Item, three basins of latten hanging before the altar. Item, two small candelabra of latten upon the altar. Item, one new tabernacle for the pyx of the sacrament. Item, one wooden cross with a stone foot. Item, two cruets of pewter. Item, one jar for vinegar, of pewter. Item, three small crosses for indulgences, of which one is for the chapel of Saint Michael. Item, two costers¹ for the ends of the altar, of red damask, embroidered with white stags and a gold vine. Item, two other costers of blue colour and with embroidered flowers. Item, six round plummets enclosed in leather. Item, five long plummets upon the altar. Item, one ivory pyx. Item, a hat of Saint Leonard. Item, a girdle of Saint Mary of green colour, with the purple gold vest confined by it. Item, on the fingers of Saint Leonard eight rings. Item, above the head of Saint Leonard one silver ship, with an image of a woman and other things hanging on the ship, of the weight of $8\frac{1}{4}$ ozs. Item, an old image of the Earl of Suffolk with his arms, of the weight of $6\frac{1}{2}$ ozs. besides 4 dwts. Item, six small fishes of silver of the weight of $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz. besides 2 dwts. Item, a small silver image of a boy, the gift of Andrew Howgard, knight, of the weight of 1 oz. besides 2 dwts. Item, one silver spoon, one piece of silver for the arm, of the weight of $2\frac{1}{4}$ ozs. Item, three pieces of coral. Item, one pair of beads of amber around the neck of Saint Leonard. Item, five pairs, plain, of amber. Item, six pairs of jet, of which five with a silver paternoster. Item, one round beryl, with silver relics enclosed, the gift of Sir John Fastolf, Knight. Item, one pair of beads of cedar, with a silver paternoster. Item, around the neck of the Blessed Virgin one Agnus Dei,

j agnus dei argenteus et deauratus. Item ad pectus ejusdem est j pectorale et par precum de Geth uno monili.¹ Item circa collum pueri Virginis j cathena argentea et deaurata cum monili argenteo et deaurato. Item j par precum de corallo mixto cum awmbyr. Item j magnum tapetum rubium de Tapesery cum v wrethys et literis in medio M et P. Item aliud parvum tapetum de Tapesery rubium et j wrythe in medio cum rñc. Item ij cussuns de rubio Say. Item j magnum speculum. Item j corona argentea et deaurata super caput filii Virginis. Item j ffrett² argenteum cum lapidibus modici valoris ponderis j uncie j quarterii et dimidii.

CAPELLA In primis j portiforium novum et magnum cum litera
SUPERIOR. B. LL. ex dono fratris Roberti Lakenham. Item j portiforium in duobus voluminibus. Item aliud portiforium debile. Item j martilogium. Item j ordinale. Item j quaternus notatus pro festo sancti leonardi. Item ij longe nove funes pro fonte.

IN CAMERA In primis j longa magna cista rubia. Item j longa
SUPRA cathedra. Item j orlogium cum campana. Item j arcus
CAPELLAM. cum iij dimidiis shef sagittarum.

SCAC- In primis iij longe cathedre. Item due cathedre parve
CARIUM. quarum una rotunda. Item j nova pecia belleschap cum cooperculo et corona in summitate ponderis xxij unciarum et dimidie, ex dono fratris Thome Cambrygge sic quod ista pecia fuit commutata cum pecia dicti fratris Thome qui ponderabat xv uncias. Item j pecia magna chalyschap deaurata ponderis xxvij unciarum et j quarterii ex dono fratris Ricardi Helyngton. Item j pecia magna flatt et plana ponderis xvj unciarum preter vj denarios. Item ij pecie flatt plane ponderis xxj unciarum dimidie et j

¹ See page 200, note 1.

silver and gilt. Item, on her breast is one pectoral and a pair of beads of jet with one ouche. Item, around the neck of the Virgin's Son one silver and gilt chain, with a silver and gilt ouche. Item, one pair of beads of coral mixed with amber. Item, one large red carpet of tapestry, with five wreaths and the letters M and P in the middle. Item, another small carpet of red tapestry and one wreath in the middle with *ihc*. Item, two cushions of red say. Item, one large mirror. Item, one silver and gilt crown upon the head of the Virgin's Son. Item, one silver fret with stones of moderate value of the weight of $1\frac{1}{4}$ oz. and a half.

Imprimis, one new and large porthos with the letter UPPER B. LI., the gift of brother Robert Lakenham. Item, one CHAPEL porthos in two volumes. Item, another porthos, worn. Item, one martiloge. Item, one ordinal. Item, a quire noted for the feast of Saint Leonard. Item, two long new ropes for the font.

Imprimis, one long large red chest. Item, one long seat. IN THE Item, one clock with a bell. Item, one bow with three ROOM ABOVE half sheaves of arrows. THE CHAPEL.

Imprimis, three long seats. Item, two small seats, of TREASURY which one is round. Item, one new piece, bell-shaped, with [OR CHECK-ER.] a cover and crown on the top, of the weight of $23\frac{1}{2}$ ozs., the gift of brother Thomas Cambrygge in such wise that this piece was exchanged for the piece of the said brother Thomas, which weighed 15 ozs. Item, one large piece, chalice-shaped, gilt, of the weight of $28\frac{1}{4}$ oz., the gift of brother Richard Helyngton. Item, one large piece, flat and plain, of the weight of 16 ozs. besides 6 dwts. Item, two flat plain

² Fret, a kind of grating. In heraldry a bearing wherein several lines run crossing one another.—Skeat's *Etym. Dicty.*

quarterii. Item j pecia belleschap ponderis xvj unciarum et dimidie preter ij denarios. Item j goblett ponderis ij unciarum et iij denarios. Item j powdyrbox ponderis iiij unciarum et j quarterii. Item xij coclearia antiqua et viij nova ponderis xx unciarum. Item j coclear deauratum cum mitra in fine ponderis j uncie large. Item j coclear antiquum pro usu infirmorum ex dono fratris Johannis Walsham ponderis j uncie et j quarterii. Item j murra stans super pedem deauratum cum cooperculo habente parvam peciam de unicornie fixam cum parva cathena deaurata, ponderis ix unciarum et dimidie et j quarterii. Item j longum cornu pro ydromello ligatum cum circulo argenteo et deaurato. Item j mortariolum eneum cum j pestell. Item j stawncher de pewter longum pro incausto. Item magna cista de prews. Item j longa cista alba pro mappis et aliis rebus servandis. Item j parvum orologium cum iij parvis chymes. Item ij wyfelys¹ et j pollex. Item j magna statera pro grossis rebus ponderandis. Item j nocte² nigrum cum pede et ligamine argenteo et deaurato. Item j murra³ parva cum le frownce et ligamine argenteo et deaurato ponderis vij unciarum. Item j ciphus tymbyrwarr cum ligamine argenteo et deaurato sculptus cum cathenis. Item pannus pictus de vij peccatis. Item j par stolys plicatum. Item j parva cista alba pro candelis imponendis. Item j parva situla pro aqua benedicta de pewter. Item j wedyrcok eneum cum longa hasta de ferro. Item ij pykeysys. Item ij beltys et iiij weggis de ferro. Item ij longa haggessawys. Item j cuttyngsawe. Item ij magna crowys de ferro

¹ The precise nature of these weapons has not been ascertained. Sir S. Meyrick supposed they were swords of wood for practice. Forby describes the active Whiffers who cleared the way for the procession of the Corporation at Norwich, bearing swords of lath or latten, which they keep in constant motion, "whiffing the air on either side." It appears probable that they received the name from the weapons called wyffles.—*Prompt. Parv.*

pieces of the weight of $21\frac{3}{4}$ ozs. Item, one piece, bell-shaped, of the weight of $16\frac{1}{2}$ ozs. besides 2 dwts. Item, one goblet of the weight of 2 ozs. 3 dwts. Item, one powder-box of the weight of $4\frac{1}{4}$ ozs. Item, twelve old spoons and eight new, of the weight of 20 ozs. Item, one gilt spoon with a mitre on the end, of the full weight of 1 oz. Item, one old spoon for the use of the sick, the gift of brother John Walsham, of the weight of $1\frac{1}{4}$ oz. Item, one maser standing on a gilt foot, with a cover, having a small piece of a unicorn fastened with a small chain, gilt, of the weight of $9\frac{3}{4}$ ozs. Item, one long horn for mead, bound with a ring of silver and gilt. Item, one brass mortar with one pestle. Item, one long stauncher of pewter, for ink. Item, a large chest of spruce. Item, one long white chest for the tablecloths and other things to be kept in. Item, one little clock with three little chimes. Item, two wyffles and one poleaxe. Item, one great balance for weighing heavy things. Item, one black nut with a foot and band silver and gilt. Item, one little maser, with the print and band silver and gilt, of the weight of 7 ozs. Item, one cup of timberware, with a band silver and gilt, carved with chains. Item, a painted cloth of the seven sins. Item, one pair of stools folded together. Item, one little white chest for placing the candles in. Item, one little bucket for holy water, of pewter. Item, one brass weathercock, with a long shaft of iron. Item, two picks. Item, two belts and four wedges of iron. Item, two long hedge-saws. Item, one cutting-saw. Item, two large

² See page 204, note 5.

³ Bowls made of maple wood were called *muræ* or masers. They were usually mounted with silver-gilt bands, and had on the bottom a silver-gilt medallion called a print or frownce.

hyspanie. Item j parvum barellum pro ydromello. Item j wellecrombe cum longo fune de twynfilo. Item diversi panni pro sepulcro steyned cum hystoria Resurrectionis. Item ij coverclys magna cum knoppys argenteis et deauratis. Item v plumbetts rotunde (*sic*). Item v plumbetts longa quorum quodlibet ponderis iij librarum.

PROMP-
TUARIUM.

In primis j mappa dyapryd iij virgarum longitudine. Item alia mappa dyapred v virgarum strictarum. Item alia mappa dyapred v virgarum. Item j par longorum mantilium dyapred quodlibet eorum iij virgarum et dimidie. Item j longum mantile dyapred v virgarum et dimidie. Item j par longorum mantilium planorum quodlibet eorum vj virgarum. Item j par longorum mantilium planorum quodlibet eorum vij virgarum. Item j plana mappa vj virgarum. Item j plana mappa vj virgarum. Item j plana mappa viij virgarum. Item j mappa secundaria plana iij virgarum. Item alia mappa plana iij virgarum. Item alia mappa plana iij virgarum et dimidie. Item alia mappa plana secundaria iij virgarum et dimidie. Item ij mappe plane pro servientibus iij virgarum et dimidii quelibet eorum (*sic*). Item j sanap v virgarum et dimidie. Item j par mantilium quodlibet eorum iij virgarum strictarum. Item aliud par mantilium quodlibet eorum iij virgarum et iij quarteriorum. Item j mantile planum v virgarum et dimidie. Item aliud mantile planum vij virgarum et dimidie. Item aliud mantile planum vj virgarum et dimidie. Item j par sanapys quodlibet eorum iij virgarum. Item j mantile dyapryd iij virgarum. Item ij sanapys nova et plana iij virgarum et dimidie. Item v roundella antiqua. Item ij nova rowndella plana. Item viij napkyns nova quorum iij sunt dyapryd et iij plana. Item ij panni linei pro ciphario. Item j pannus lineus debilis pour le dressour. Item ij mappe parve dyapryd

crowbars of Spanish iron. Item, one little barrel for mead. Item, one well-crome with a long rope of twine. Item, divers cloths for the sepulchre, steyned with the history of the Resurrection. Item, two large covers, with knops silver and gilt. Item, five round plummets. Item, five long plummets, each of them of the weight of three pounds.

Imprimis, one diapered tablecloth, 4 yds. long. Item, BUTTERY. another diapered tablecloth of barely 5 yds. Item, another diapered tablecloth of 5 yds. Item, one pair of long coverings, diapered, each of them of $4\frac{1}{2}$ yds. Item, one long covering, diapered, of $5\frac{1}{2}$ yds. Item, one pair of long plain coverings, each of them of 6 yds. Item, one pair of long plain coverings, each of them of 7 yds. Item, one plain tablecloth of 6 yds. Item, one plain tablecloth of 6 yds. Item, one plain tablecloth of 8 yds. Item, one second-best plain tablecloth of 4 yds. Item, another plain tablecloth of 4 yds. Item, another plain tablecloth of $4\frac{1}{2}$ yds. Item, another plain second-best tablecloth of $4\frac{1}{2}$ yds. Item, two plain tablecloths for the servants of $3\frac{1}{2}$ yds. each. Item, one savenap of $5\frac{1}{2}$ yds. Item, one pair of coverings, each of them of barely 4 yds. Item, another pair of coverings, each of them of $4\frac{3}{4}$ yds. Item, one plain covering of $5\frac{1}{2}$ yds. Item, another plain covering of $7\frac{1}{2}$ yds. Item, another plain covering of $6\frac{1}{2}$ yds. Item, one pair of savenaps, each of them of 4 yds. Item, one covering, diapered, of 4 yds. Item, two new and plain savenaps of $4\frac{1}{2}$ yds. Item, five old roundels. Item, two new plain roundels. Item, eight new napkins, of which four are diapered and four plain. Item, two cloths of linen for the sideboard (?). Item, one worn linen cloth for the dresser. Item, two small diapered tablecloths, one of which is of 6 yds., the other

quarum una est vj virgarum, alia iiij virgarum. Item j mappa nova plana iiij virgarum et dimidie. Item iiij olle de corio. Item ij potel botell. Item v candelabra quorum unum cum duplici soket de auricalco. Item iiij pypes pro allegeris.

AULA. In primis j doser cum j banker viridis coloris partiti. Item vj cussuns de Say¹ rubio. Item ij cussuns blodii. Item j albi coloris. Item iiij alii rubii debiles cum volucris. Item v cathedre quarum ij sunt rotunde de Waynscot et iiij turnyd. Item ij bankers partiti coloris rubii et glauci de Tapsery. Item ij bankers partiti coloris viridis et albi de Say. Item j parvum banker pro sedili longo partiti coloris rubii et glauci de tapsery. Item j banker rubium cum floribus de tapsery. Item iiij pelves cum iiij lavacris quorum j est cownterfetyd. Item j pelvis concava pro rasura. Item j chafour eneam. Item ij parva scabella. Item iiij longa scabella. Item iiij longe tabule quarum j rubia est in le parlour. Item pro le parlour j candelabrum pendule de auricalco cum vj soketts et leopardo in summitate. Item iiij nova bankers de rubio. Item j cupbord in aula et aliud in le parlour. Item j lavacrum pendens in lavatorio de auricalco in le parlour. Item j par forcipum pro camino. Item j fyrrshovyll. Item j fyrrforke. Item j awndyron. Item v scale quarum una est in capella sancti Michaelis. Item j tabula stans plicata.

COQUINA. In primis ij Garnysch² de pewter. Item v olle enee magne et parve. Item ij magne ketell in fornace. Item iiij geteys.³ Item iiij patelle enee antique. Item ij patelle enee nove. Item ij chafours enea. Item ij

¹ Say, a kind of serge; so called because used for making a kind of coat or tunic, called in Latin *saga*, *sagum*, or *sagus*.—Skeat's *Etym. Dicty*.

of 4 yds. Item, one new plain tablecloth of $4\frac{1}{2}$ yds. Item, three leather bottles. Item, two pottle bottles. Item, five candlesticks, one of which is with a double socket of latten. Item, three pipes for alegars.

Imprimis, one dosser with one banker of green parti- HALL. coloured. Item, six cushions of red say. Item, two blue cushions. Item, one of white colour. Item, four other worn red ones with birds. Item, five seats, two of which are round, of wainscot, and three turned. Item, two bankers, parti-coloured red and light green, of tapestry. Item, two bankers parti-coloured green and white, of say. Item, one small banker for a long seat parti-coloured, red and light green, of tapestry. Item, one red banker with flowers, of tapestry. Item, three basins with three ewers, of which one is counterfeited. Item, one hollow basin for shaving. Item, one brass chafer. Item, two small stools. Item, four long stools. Item, four long tables, of which one, red, is in the parlour. Item, for the parlour one hanging candlestick of latten, with six sockets and a leopard on the top. Item, three new bankers of red. Item, one cupboard in the hall and another in the parlour. Item, one hanging laver in the lavatory, of latten, in the parlour. Item, one pair of tongs for the hearth. Item, one fire shovel. Item, one fire fork. Item, one andiron. Item, five ladders, one of which is in the chapel of Saint Michael. Item, one standing picture, folded.

Imprimis, two garnishes of pewter. Item, five brass pots, KITCHEN. great and small. Item, two large kettles on the furnace. Item, three gets. Item, four old brass plates. Item, two new brass plates. Item, two brass chafers. Item, two

² A garnish signified commonly the set or service of pewter.—*Prompt. Parv.*

³ Get or gyn, machina.—*Prompt. Parv.*

parve olle de auricalco pro potagio deferendo. Item j potelpot pro veriows, de pewter. Item j olla de pewter pro sinapio. Item v veru magna et parva. Item iij tripodes ferrei. Item ij gredyrans. Item ij ladelys de auricalco. Item j scomour de auricalco. Item j sars¹ de auricalco. Item j dressyng knyf. Item ij choppyng knyvyys. Item j feryng-panne. Item j latched-panne. Item j cobard ferreum. Item j par forcipum. Item j grate.

CAPPELLA
SUPERIOR.

In primis j biblia cum litera K. i. in communi. Magister historiarum K. ij. in communi. Item cronica noviter scripta ex dono fratris Ricardi helyngton sine litera in communi. Moralia gregorii, K. iiij. in communi. Moralia abbreviata K. v. in communi. Tabula super moralia cum gregorio super Ezechielem K. vj. Augustinus super Genesim et Johannem K. vij. Augustinus de doctrina Christiana, K. viij. Libellus honeste vite cum tabula de civitate dei K. x. Concordantie² K. xij. in communi. Brito super bibliam K. xiiij. in communi. Beda de tabernaculo federis cum aliis K. xiiij. Liber sentenciarum K. xv. Meditationes bernardi cum aliis K. xvj. Prima pars summe Thome K. xvij. Prima secunde Thome K. xvij. Secunda secunde Thome K. xix. Sermones K. xx. Sermones qui incipiunt honeste ambulemus K. xxj. Decreta K. xxij. Liber sextus et septimus cum tabula martiniani in quaterno K. xxiiij. Summa hostiensis K. xxiiij. Innocentius super decretalia K. xxv. Repertorium durandi cum suffragiis monachorum K. xxvj. Bartholomeus de proprietatibus K. xxvij. in communi. Hugucio K. xxvij. in communi. Liber gallicus de passione Christi K. xxx. Isti libri sunt sine literis:—Porphirius in quaterno. Aristoteles super

¹ A small sieve.—*Cath. Ang.*

² Probably the work of John of Darlington, an English monk about 1284; who was afterwards Archbishop of Dublin.—Tanner's *Biblioth. Britan.* p. 225.

small pots of latten for bringing in the pottage. Item, one pottle pot for verjuice, of pewter. Item, one pot of pewter for mustard. Item, five large and small spits. Item, three iron tripods. Item, two gridirons. Item, two ladles of latten. Item, one skimmer of latten. Item, one sarse of latten. Item, one dressing knife. Item, two chopping knives. Item, one frying-pan. Item, one latch-pan. Item, one cobiron. Item, one pair of tongs. Item, one grate.

Imprimis, one Bible with the letter K i. in common. ^{UPPER} Magister historiarum K. ij., in common. Item, a chronicle, ^{CHAPEL.} newly written, the gift of brother Richard Helyngton, without a letter, in common. Gregory's moralia, K. iiij., in common. Moralia abridged, K. v., in common. Table upon moralia, with Gregory upon Ezechiel, K. vj. Augustine upon Genesis and John, K. vij. Augustine on Christian doctrine, K. viij. A Tract, *honeste Vite*, with a table of the city of God, K. x. Concordances, K. xij., in common. Brito on the Bible, K. xiiij., in common. Bede on the tabernacle of the covenant, with others, K. xiiij. Liber sentenciarum, K. xv. Meditations of Bernard, with others, K. xvj. First part of the Summa of Thomas, K. xvij. First division of the second part of Thomas, K. xvij. Second division of the second part of Thomas, K. xix. Sermons, K. xx. Sermons which begin *honeste ambulemus*, K. xxj. Decreta, K. xxij. The sixth and seventh books, with a table of Martinianus, in quires, K. xxiiij. Summa Hostiensis, K. xxiiij. Innocent on the Decretals, K. xxv. Repertory of Durandus *cum suffragiis monachorum*, K. xxvj. Bartholomeus de *proprietatibus*, K. xxvij., in common. Hugucio, K. xxviiij., in common. A French book of the passion of Christ, K. xxx. These books are without letters:—Porphyry, in quires;

physicis in quaterno. Grescismus in quaterno. Item quaternus qui incipit exultavit cor meum.

Isti libri deficiunt ab antiquo.—Postille super lucam et marcham K. iij. per Johannem Hoo. Augustinus de civitate dei cum pastorale gregorii K. ix. Sexdecim originalia Anselmi cum Augustino de duodecim abusionibus K. xj. Ysidorus de gramatica K. xxix.

Memorandum de duabus legendis furtim sublati una de temporali alia sanctorum.

A List of Priors, or Keepers of the Cell.

1348.	John de Hengham.	1410.	Thomas Lenne.
1350.	Walter de Stokton, prior.	1411.	John Elys.
1353-5.	J. de Hedersett.		Richard de Mydel- ton.
1359-60.	William de Ryking- hale.		William Depham.
1365-6.	„	1413-14.	John Elys.
1367.	John de Happis- burgh, prior.	1414-18.	John Derham.
1368.	William de Ryking- hale.	1421.	John Bergh.
1371-6.	John de Happis- burgh.	1422.	Richard Helyng- tone.
1385-90.	Richard de Blakene.	1423-5.	John Bergh.
1390.	Thomas de Lynne.	1426-7.	John Walsham.
1391.	„	1430.	„
	Richard de Blakene.	1432-3.	„
1393-1401.	„	1435-9.	„
1404.	„	1442-5.	John Elyngham.
1405.	John de Brunstede.	1447.	„
1407-8.	„	1449-50.	„
		1452.	„
		1453-7.	Richard Walsham.
		1459-64.	John Donemowe.

Aristotle on physics, in quires; Grecismus, in quires. Item, a quire which begins, *exultavit cor meum*.

These books are imperfect [or missing] of old :—Glosses upon Luke and Mark, K. iij, the gift of John Hoo; Augustine on the city of God with Gregory's Pastorale, K. ix.; Sixteen originalia of Anselm, with Augustine on the twelve abuses, K. xj; Isidore on grammar, K. xxix.

Be it remembered as to two Legends removed by stealth, one *de temporali*, the other of the saints.

A LIST OF PRIORS, OR KEEPERS OF THE CELL (*continued*).

1468.	John Donemowe.	1504.	William Bakunsthorp.
1470.	John Molett, de off. prioratus s̄ci Leonardi.	1507.	John Hempstede, custos celle.
1471.	Nicholas Aryčh.	1509-10.	„
1477-9.	„	1512.	„
1484.	Richard Salthous, custos celle s̄ci Leonardi.	1514.	John Sybly, custos celle.
1486-7.	„	1515.	William Repps, S. T. P., custos celle.
1488-90.	Simon Folcard.	1518.	Robert Catton, prior.
1492.	„	1519.	John Barton, custos celle.
1494.	Edmund Derham.	1520.	John Merton, custos celle.
1496.	William Spynk, prior.	1521-7.	Will. Harydans, custos celle.
1497.	Robert Jernemuth, custos celle.	1529.	„
1499-1502.	„	1531.	„
1504.	„		

Early Mayors of Lynn.

COMMUNICATED BY

HAMON LE STRANGE, ESQ.

WHEN the late Mr. Harrod arranged the records of the Corporation of King's Lynn, he went through Blomefield's list of mayors, and made several corrections in and some additions to it. This list¹ is headed by nine or ten names of mayors, obtained from early undated deeds in the Corporation records. The first mayor to whom a positive date is assigned is one Andrew who served in 1270, though Alexander Kellock is stated to have held the office some time between the years 1248 and 1260. Among the earlier names unassigned to any precise year is James de Belvaco or Beauveys, who subsequently appears as having again served the office in 1271. A deed in the Evidence Room at Hunstanton Hall, which is dated in the year 1248, has for the first witness to it the name of another member of the same family, 'Bartholomew de Beluaco,' stated to be at that time (*tunc*) Mayor of Lynn; this Bartholomew must, therefore, for the present at all events, take his place at the head of the long roll of known and dated chief magistrates of the borough.

It is impossible to fix with precision the date at which the first mayor was appointed; the Bishops of Norwich,

¹ Page 136 of Harrod's Report.

who were Lords Paramount of the town of Lynn, seem to have nominated as their representatives a *Prepositus*, or Provost. The earliest charter to the town is that of King John, still preserved in the Guildhall at Lynn: It is dated at Luttesgarshall (in Wiltshire), on the 13th of September, in the sixth year of his reign (1204), and is addressed simply "*Burgensibus de Lenn*," without mentioning any chief magistrate. It grants, at the instance of John (de Grey), Bishop of Norwich, that Lynn shall be a free borough for ever, and that the burgesses shall be free of all tolls throughout England, except in London, and provides that if anywhere else toll be taken of them, the Provost of Lynn may recover damages. Clearly, therefore, in 1204 no such officer as mayor was chief magistrate.

Blomefield, or rather Parkin,² cites from the Patent Rolls a fine levied in Trinity term of the eighteenth year of King John (1216), in consequence of the Bishop of Norwich having impleaded the burgesses of Lynn because they had created a mayor among themselves, and taxed themselves without his assent. It was agreed that the burgesses should be allowed to elect a mayor from their own body, provided that he was presented for admission to the Bishop. In spite of this concession it is significant that no mention of a mayor appears in either of the two first charters granted to the borough by Henry III., in the seventeenth and thirty-ninth years of his reign (1233 and 1255), and yet Blomefield³ says that in the forty-first year of the same king the mayor and burgesses were commanded by the king to permit the men of Ely to come and sell their beer in Lynn.

The Hunstanton deed proves also that there was a mayor of Lynn in 1248, *i.e.*, seven years before the last-mentioned charter. It is quite possible that, although

² Folio edition, iv. 584.

³ iv. 585.

there may have been a mayor in Lynn, he may not at first have held the position of chief magistrate. In the neighbouring borough of Thetford, Richard I. changed the government from a provost, to a bailiff, coroner, and mayor; the bailiff was nominated by the Crown, and was superior to the other two officers, and so continued up to 1373, when John of Gaunt gave the mayor the first place. In Lynn the earliest mention of a mayor in a charter from the Crown, was in that granted by Henry III. on the 26th March, 1268, wherein, after reciting and confirming the charter of John, the king refers to the concession by a former Bishop of Norwich, by which the burgesses had been empowered to elect a mayor. The king then proceeds to grant permission to the said burgesses to elect a mayor instead of a provost. If this charter stood by itself it might have been inferred that the duties of provost were then for the first time turned over to a mayor, but it must be borne in mind that the arrangement somewhat vaguely referred to as having been made by a former Bishop of Norwich took place upwards of fifty years previously, and that, as has been shewn above, there is ample evidence that the concession had been frequently, if not continuously, acted on during that interval. Mr. Harrod appositely remarks that our early sovereigns had a happy knack of assuming to grant as a great privilege something which had existed in spite of them long before.

The Hunstanton deed is given below in full. It is an agreement between Roger Fitz Hugh of Lynn and his son-in-law Alexander Kelloc, whereby the latter releases all claims of his own, or of his wife Alice, against his father-in-law, who, besides giving a reciprocal release on his part, further grants to Alexander five shillings a year secured on certain land and houses in Lynn, among the abuttals of which is mentioned a stone

house (*domus lapidea*)—probably rather a rarity six hundred years ago in a town separated, as Lynn was, by the whole breadth of the Fens from the nearest stone quarry. The third witness to this deed, Gilbert Fitz Warin, also attested the undated deed, quoted by Blomefield⁴ as establishing the fact that Robert, son of Sunnolf, was mayor of Lynn. Robert was the father of Warin, and consequently grandfather of Gilbert; his mayoralty would therefore have been as early as the year 1216, at which date we find the Bishop of Norwich impleading the burgesses of Lynn for having created a mayor. Of other boroughs in the county, Castle Rising received the privilege of electing its own mayor some time between the years 1233 and 1242; Thetford in 1373, Norwich in 1404, and Yarmouth did not exchange its bailiffs for a mayor until 1684. Lynn, therefore, is clearly entitled to rank as the oldest mayor-town in the county.

Hec est concordia facta int̃ Rogerum filium Hugonis de Leñ et Alexandrum Kelloc die sc̃oz apostolor̃ Philip̃ et Jacobi, anno gr̃e millesimo ducentesimo q^ad^agesimo octauo Videlicet q̃ dict̃ Alexander remisit d̃no Rog̃o et h̃redibz suis omnes acc̃oes et petiçoes quas habuit uel h̃re potuit erga dictum Rog̃um uel heredes suos de rebz sibi debitis uel Alicie ux̃ sue filie d̃ni Rog̃i uel q^acunq̃ occasione aliquid a d̃no Rog̃o potuit exigisse. Similiter et dictus Rog̃us remisit omnes acc̃oes et petiçoes q^as quocunq̃ Jure h̃re potuit erga d̃m Alexandrum uel h̃des suos. Et p̃fatus Roger⁹ concessit et dedit d̃no Alexandro quinq̃ sol⁹ annuos in tota uita d̃ni Alexandri sumendos annuatim de t̃ra cum edificiis et ptinentiis in pochia omniū sc̃oz de Leñ que jacet in latitudiē int̃ t̃ram d̃ni Rog̃i ex parte Austri et puū vicum ex pte Aquilonar⁹

⁴ iv. 586.

uidelicet ĩram in q^a edificata est dom⁹ lapidea cum tota Lōgitudine illi⁹ ĩre. Sumendos annuatim ad duos ĩminos Anni. Scilicet ad Pascha trigīta denar⁹ ĩ ad festū sci Michael triginta denar⁹. Ita uidelicet q̄ si contingat dēm Rogūm in soluōe dicti reddit⁹ ad ĩminos statutos deficē Liceat eidem Alexandro sine cont^a-dicōe aliq^a dictam ĩram p namia in ea capienda distringē ĩ illa usq̄ ad sibi plenam soluōem fām retinere. Et si quo casu contingente non possit dict⁹ Alexander in dictis edificiis distringē Liceat eidem Alexandro dēm Rogūm uel heredes suos ad dēm redditum soluend⁹ coram Iudice ecclīastico uel seculari guenire. Post decessum aū dēi Alexandri nullus heredum eius [dem Alex]^s andri de dā ĩra ũ de dōo redditu aliq^a exigē possit. Jn cui⁹ rei testimonium dēi Rogūus ĩ Alexander sibi inuicē affidātes alĳnis scriptis sua signa apposuerunt. Hiis testib⁹ Dño Bartholoṃ de Beluaco tē maiore Len, dño Johē vicedec⁹ Lenn, Gilberto fit War⁹, Ada de Wadetun, Rogo de Hengā capĳo, Edmundo de Wausighā, Dño Thobia clīco, Johe de Coltune, Wiffo de Swafhā, Johe Codlamb, ĩ aliis.

^s A hole in the parchment.

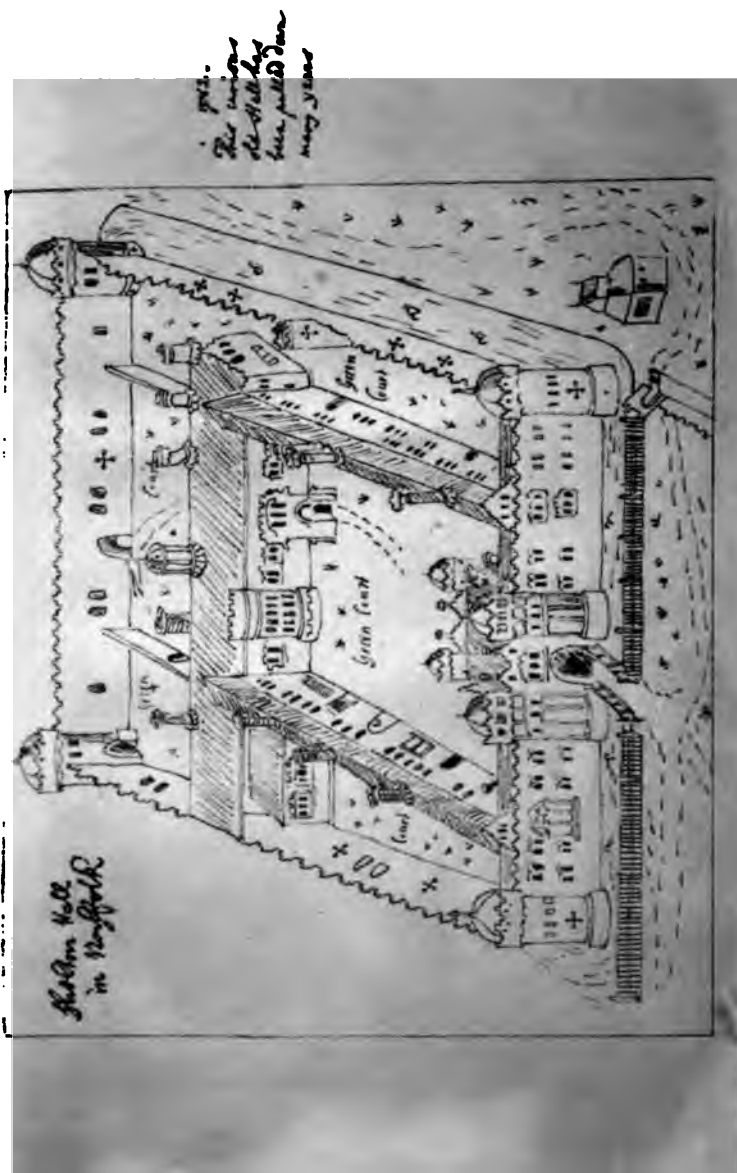
Notes on the Church and Family of Shelton.

COMMUNICATED BY

THE REV. B. J. ARMSTRONG.

IN the year 1430 was born Ralph, son and heir of John Shelton, of Shelton and Snoring Magna. The father passed away three months after the birth of his son, and Ralph Shelton consequently had a long minority. He was brought up under the care of his grandmother, Katharine, wife of William Shelton, Esq., daughter of Simon Barrett, of Hardwick, a brass inscription to whom of the usual description lies on the floor of Shelton Church, deprived of its accompanying figure. The usual haggling concerning the wardship of the child took place between the Crown on the one side and Katharine Shelton on the other, the child's mother having re-married not long after his birth; and it formed one of the indictments brought by William Dalling against Judge Paston that in taking "diverse fees and rewardes of diverse persones withinne the shir of Norffolk and Suffolk," he took ten marks "of Katharine Shelton ayeins the King for to be of hir councell for to destroye the right of the King and of his Warde, that is for to sey Raf, soon and eyer of John Shelton."¹ Katharine's death did not occur till 1456, so that ample time was given her to look after

¹ *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, vol. i. p. 37.



SHELTON HALL, REPRODUCED FROM MR. WALTER RYE'S
"CATALOGUE OF FIFTY NORFOLK MANUSCRIPTS."

her grandson's interests, even if the ten marks were ill spent; and probably Dalling's accusation was unfounded. This long minority gave to Ralph Shelton the means by which to carry out his love for building; for he it was who reared the splendid mansion called Shelton Hall, the beautiful nave of Shelton church, and very probably also the manor house at Snoring Magna. A most interesting illustration of Shelton Hall is to be found in the appendix to Mr. Walter Rye's "Catalogue of Fifty Norfolk Manuscripts," and by his kind permission is here reproduced. It was moated and embattled, the walls having corner towers; opposite the turreted entrance gateway was the dining hall, with its lantern and oriel window at the high table, the chapel being on the left, while there were no less than five courtyards enclosed within the walls. The lower portions of these walls yet remain: all else has long since been destroyed.

Ralph Shelton was knighted in 1485, became High Sheriff of Norfolk 1487, and married Margaret, daughter of Robert Clere of Ormesby, Norfolk, a niece of the Justice Paston before mentioned, and had issue—John, Ralph, Richard, Elizabeth, and Alice. The other works of his hands have fortunately escaped the destruction which has fallen upon Shelton Hall, but he died before the completion of Shelton Church. The date of this beautiful edifice is shewn by his will, which is dated 1497, and which was proved at Lambeth by his son, John Shelton, in the following year. In it occurs the following charge:—"Item, I will and require my executors, as they will answer before God, that they perform and make up completely the church of Shelton in masonry, tymber, iron, and leede, according to the form as I have begunne it, in as shorte a tyme as it conveniently maye be done of my owne goods if God dispose that

I may not see the performance of the same."² This solemn obligation, however, does not seem to have been entirely carried out, perhaps owing to the troublous times about to come, and indeed the work has not been brought to a perfect completion even to the present day. It may have been owing to the unfinished state of the nave, that we find the parish priest applying for and obtaining a special licence for the performance of matrimony in the private chapel of Shelton Hall, when upon one and the same day Elizabeth Shelton was married to Sir Richard Fitz Lewis of Dagenham, and Alice to John Heveningham of Ketteringham.

The church consists of west tower and nave with north and south aisles, south porch, and a sacristy at the east end in a similar position to those at St. Peter Mancroft and St. Peter Permouthergate at Norwich. The tower is one of those common to East Anglia, square, with angle buttresses containing flush panelling, embattled, and composed of rubble. It was evidently a portion of the original church.

The nave is a good specimen of the brick-work of the period, which, thanks to the working of time is so toned down in colour that there is nothing offensive to the eye in contrasting it with the tower—indeed the church is of such excellent proportions, and at the same time of so unusual an aspect, that the visitor can only be gratified with its general appearance. It is lighted by a range of nine clerestory windows on either side, and three and four of a larger size in the south and north aisles respectively. The windows of the clerestory are separated externally by a series of miniature pillars or buttresses, alternately terminating in an ornamental cap, and running through to the ridge of the roof where now they abruptly end, although probably the

² *Visitation of Norfolk*, vol. ii., p. 395.



SHELTON CHURCH—S.W. VIEW.

original intention was to complete them with a series of small turrets or tapering spirelets.

A light and graceful string-course of an ornamented pattern runs completely round the aisles, porch, and east end, giving an unusually ornamental appearance to the coping. The east end is especially striking from its simplicity combined with gracefulness of design, and the position of the sacristy beneath the central window effaces the bareness generally attaching to that locality. This room is reached from the outside by a plain postern door in the south wall, and from the sanctuary by a single doorway on the south of the altar. A window of three lights in its east side is flanked north and south by niches, now tenantless, the floriated apex of each being contained within a square-headed hood-mould; and immediately above it, in the centre of the coping, is a mask forming a gargoye. The wall of the north aisle contains the turret stair to the rood loft, and the priest's door is also in this position, the rectory standing to the north-east of the church.

More than a passing word must be given to the south porch. Here Sir Ralph Shelton's executors seem to have abandoned their work, when engaged upon what is perhaps the most striking part of the building. In the centre of the south front is a niche of much beauty, the bracket for the figure descending to the hood-mould of the doorway beneath it, thus relieving effectually the monotony of the brick work. The string-course immediately beneath the coping is hooded with great success to receive the label of the niche, which was intended for a figure of our Lady, to whom the church is dedicated, and on either side the wall is pierced by a small plain window, each containing its original iron grille. The line of the south wall of the aisle is carried through the upper part of its west wall in an

ingenious manner, thus forming a passage from the tower staircase lighted by a small quatrefoil, and coped over the west window, giving access to what was intended to have been a parvise. But here suddenly the good work ceased, for, notwithstanding the preparations for it, the room does not exist. The fan-tracery springs a few feet from its caps, and abruptly terminates: vaulting or floor there is none. The workmen laid aside their tools without even filling up the scaffold holes, and took their departure. The munificent builder had passed away, his widow surviving him only by a couple of years: his eldest son was but a youth, and was being petted at Court; the result being that although a trifling outlay would have put the finishing touch to the work, that touch was withheld. Indeed, the interest of the family in the parish generally seems gradually to abate after the deaths of Sir Ralph and Dame Margaret. The next generation had a difficult and somewhat important part to take in the domestic troubles of the Court; their possessions rapidly increased, and brought with them the evils attending non-residence. Certain chambers of the grand hall were left to one member of the family, and "the great tower, furnished as it now stands," to another, and soon after the whole building became a thing of the past. So that we have not far to look for the reason of the unfinished state of the porch, together with other work in the church, which, although begun, now only tells of elaborate intentions unrealized.

On regarding the interior of the church, one is struck at once by its loftiness, together with the narrowness of its area. It consists of five bays, those at the east being of half-width, as receptacles for altar tombs. The clerestory is supported by pillars devoid of any abacus, except that the innermost rib has a miniature capital.

Between the arches are shallow niches, directly over which, as also over each apex, are stone corbels for the principals of the roof, each bearing the letters R. A. F., together with the rebus of the scallop shell and tun, "which" (as Blomefield says) "cannot fail of making Shel-ton," and which so profusely adorns the manor-house at Snoring Magna. The original roof has been removed—tradition says for the purpose of covering a tithe barn elsewhere—and has given place to the lath and plaster of the eighteenth century, the plain white flat ceiling doing much to mar the beauty of the building. The font is of the usual octagonal shape, the panels containing the lion sejant alternating with angels bearing the shields of the Passion, St. Edmund, the Trinity, and the Blessed Sacrament, the bowl resting upon a four-sided stem. Many of the original benches and bench-ends still exist, and are in careful keeping, although not in position; they were innocent of the modern luxury of backs, and were of such a distance apart as to make the English mode of irreverent posture in worship either impossible, or, if indulged in, evident to the whole congregation. The screen and loft extended across the whole width of the church, the mullions having been sawn off flush with the upper ridge of the panels (which remain *in situ*) as being the easiest method of destroying the super-structure; and whatever colouring the panels may once have possessed has entirely disappeared. The altar is flanked north and south by altar tombs, that on the south having been prepared by Sir Ralph Shelton for his own and his wife's interment. In his will, he directs that he shall be buried "in the chancel of the church of Shelton, by the principal image of our Lady, in a tomb and sepulture that I have prepared in the same intent"; and Dame Margaret also wills that "I be buried by my husband in the

chancel of the church at Shelton, in a tomb which is ordeyned to that intent."³ The slab has been rifled of its brasses, but it is evidently of an earlier date than the corresponding tomb on the north. The wording of Sir Ralph's will implies that he had completed his own resting place, whereas the monument to the north of the altar is yet in an unfinished condition, an elaborate canopy in stone bearing a multitude of figures of angels, being left in precisely the same uncompleted state as the contemplated vaulting of the porch. This last-mentioned tomb, together with a third in the north aisle, have received, in comparatively recent years, the addition of various names and arms of members of the Shelton family, the accuracy of which is questionable.

One of the most noticeable features in the church is the ancient painted glass with which the three easternmost windows are filled. They form but a small portion of the specimens of this beautiful art which the church once possessed; and there is a local tradition that beneath the sacristy floor quantities of broken fragments of similar glass were discovered not many years back. Anyhow, we are thankful for what has been left, and which now, humanly speaking, is safe. As one regards these beautiful windows, one cannot quite resist a suspicion that much of the glass does not really belong to them at all; many parts of it do not fit the stone-work, and in some instances the borders have been cut through as though to facilitate its insertion; and possibly the private chapel at the Hall may have contributed to these windows when that mansion was destroyed. The interest attaching to the glass itself is increased from the fact that various members of the Shelton family are depicted upon it, notably Sir Ralph, the builder of the nave, and his wife, who appear in the upper portion of the

³ *Visitation of Norfolk*, vol. ii., pp. 395, 396.



SHELTON CHURCH—EAST VIEW.

central window, and his son, Sir John, who married Anne, daughter of Sir William Boleyn, of Blickling. The Angelic Host, the Annunciation, Kings Edmund and Henry VI., yet more members of the Shelton family, together with coats of arms, make up a somewhat strange and incongruous medley, all the more interesting on account of its inconsistency, the window rejoicing in those deep blues and reds which the modern revival of the art cannot quite yet reproduce. The representations of Sir John Shelton and his wife in the east window of the south aisle are especially interesting, the arrangement of the lady's wimple or coif being unusually good. She was aunt to Queen Anne Boleyn, and governess to the Princess Mary, and from what is told of her in the gossiping letters of Eustache Chapuis to Charles V., she had a thankless and most difficult position to fill; for the Princess naturally insisted upon the deference due to her birth being paid her in every minute point, while the Queen was equally determined that insults should be heaped upon her, and that she should be made to feel her "bastardy." On the one hand Lady Shelton is commanded to treat her with severity and even to beat her, while on the other she is warned that should any harm happen to her charge she herself would be held responsible, and the oft-used whisper of "poison" would at once be breathed. At Hatfield she was constantly watched, and while the short-lived triumph of her niece lasted, every kindly action prompted by the affection and respect the Princess won from her was reported with exaggeration at Court, till bitter must have been the regret she felt at the position she was called upon to occupy. Dr. Butt, who attended the Princess in the spring of 1535, seems to have told Lady Shelton that it was commonly reported in London that she had poisoned Mary, and, considering

the times, it is with no wonder that we read that "the poor lady was not a little frightened, and whenever Mary was ill cried bitterly and was in the utmost anxiety." ⁴ The King's every thought was given to a hoped-for son, and in the difference between Anne and Lady Shelton he sided entirely with the Queen, promising that his daughter should be more closely guarded; and in consequence the governess is "upbraided for her leniency and weakness," and her office was made even less tolerable than before. The gift of Carrow Abbey at the dissolution may have been made as a recognition of the services of the aggrieved aunt of the ill-fated queen; it was to Carrow that she withdrew; it was there she died, and it is there she lies buried.

⁴ Chapuis to Charles V., Feb. 25th, 1535.



MAP of the HUNDREDS of — NORFOLK, —

*Shewing all the TOWNSHIPS assessed at
£10. and upwards in*

1834.



The Assessment of the Townships of the County of Norfolk

For the King's Tenth and Fifteenth, as settled in 1334.

COMMUNICATED BY

THE REV. W. HUDSON, F.S.A.,

Hon. Sec.

THE document which is here printed is found copied on folios lxi. to lxxv. of the "Book of Pleas," which forms one of the most valuable of the muniments of the city of Norwich. The book is a storehouse of miscellaneous information, mostly in one handwriting, and was apparently compiled (judging by the date of the latest documents there copied) about the thirty-third year of King Henry VI. (c. 1455). The various documents are inserted without any special arrangement, and often without any indication of their date. The present one purports to be an assessment of all the townships of Norfolk for a grant of a tenth and fifteenth made by Parliament "to the king in the eighth year of his reign." As it occurs in the midst of documents which are almost all of the reign of Henry VI., it might be supposed to be a copy of a return made in the eighth year of the reign of that king. It is, however, in reality a copy of a much earlier assessment, made in the eighth year of King Edward III., 1334. For a reason to be

mentioned presently, it is not really a matter of great importance to verify the actual date, provided the accuracy of the details can be assured. But the fact of the copy being taken from the original return of 1334 adds to its interest, if not to its value.

Whether the copy in the Book of Pleas was taken from an original return at one time preserved among the city muniments, there is no evidence to shew. Most likely it was, for it is not a verbatim copy of the contemporary return of which portions still exist in the Public Record Office¹ in London.

The tax which, during a large part of the Middle Ages went by the name of a "Tenth and Fifteenth," was originally a tax on the "moveables" of all classes of people in the country. With its early history we are not here concerned. It is sufficient to say that, being first imposed in the reign of King Henry II. to meet the cost of a proposed Crusade, it was found so serviceable that it was constantly repeated, sometimes in the proportion of a seventh, sometimes of a tenth, sometimes of a fifteenth, or even of a twentieth or thirtieth, according to the requirements of the special occasion. At each time a fresh assessment was made by local inquisitions. The details of these assessments are of great interest, as showing the nature of the household goods, the stock-in-trade, or the farm equipment of the persons assessed.² The inconvenience and

¹ Lay Subsidy Roll, 1449. I have to express my thanks to Mr. Hubert Hall and Mr. Alfred E. Stamp of the Public Record Office, for their courtesy in assisting me to make this assessment perfect, and for much useful information.

² For full information on the subject the reader may be referred to Dowell's *History of Taxation and Taxes in England*, pp. 44, 68, &c. Also p. 251 for the well-known Colchester Assessments of 1295 and 1301. For an early assessment at Lynn see *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. i. p. 334; and for others in the Hundred of North Erpingham, Mr. Walter Rye's *North Erpingham*, p. 403.

delay occasioned by the necessity of making a fresh assessment each time, as well as the uncertainty of the result to be expected, became increasingly apparent as the tax gradually settled down from the time of King Edward I. into what was practically a regular grant made annually by Parliament to the king, to enable him to meet the requirements of public administration. Hence, in the eighth year of King Edward III. (1334) an important change was made, which altered the character of the tax for the future. In that year, instead of ordering a new assessment to be obtained, the royal commissioners were empowered to treat with the various towns and districts, and invite them to name a *fixed sum* at which the town or village should be *permanently* assessed. In case of refusal a sworn assessment was to be made as of old. The plan met with apparently universal approval. From that time forward every annual return of the produce of this tax contained the same sum attached to any place. It is possible, therefore, to verify, correct, or supplement any one list from any other. The list which is copied in the Book of Pleas contains several manifest errors, the totals of a hundred not agreeing with the casting up of the sums assigned to the several places in it. By careful collation with other lists it has been here made perfect.

It will be observed that the tax is described in the Indenture which prefaces the list as a "*Tenth* from the Cities, Boroughs, and Demesnes of the King, and a *Fifteenth* from the Commonalty of the County." The early kings had claimed the right to lay a tallage (or tax) at their pleasure on all places within the "ancient demesne" of the Crown, which included most of the principal towns. This practice fell into disuse after the thirteenth century, but, when a general tax was imposed, the inhabitants of places on ancient demesne

paid in the proportion of a tenth to a fifteenth. After 1334 it is not quite clear in what way this distinction was continued. That it was not merely an expression copied without meaning from older preambles, but an actual fact, is apparent from the Subsidy Rolls, which continue to distinguish between the sum total of the fifteenth and that of the tenth. But in the list itself only Norwich and Yarmouth are given separately, all other places being classed in their respective hundreds. As the combined assessment of these two places is only £194. 12s. 0d., while the "tenth" is said to amount to £296. 4s. 0d., it is difficult to say where the rest of the "tenth" is to be found. Historians and other writers speak in general terms as though a tenth were taken from boroughs and a fifteenth from country places.³ In any case, after 1334 the distinction in no way affected the amount of any assessment, being probably kept up in the King's Books from ancient custom. Still, it seems strange that, if the distinction were maintained in any form, it should not appear in this return, or (so far as I know) in any of the other returns in the Public Record Office.

The assessment of individual places, as thus settled in 1334, remained unaltered for about three hundred years, each place knowing its liability, and being left to meet it as it thought best. It was, no doubt, this certainty both in the total and individual amounts which formed its recommendation. Parliament knew what it was voting as it rung the changes on a tenth and fifteenth, or a double tenth, or a tenth and a half, and so on, as the occasion required; and the tax-payers, whether they

³ Boroughs which were represented in Parliament paid a tenth. These were Norwich, £94. 12s.; Yarmouth, £100; Lynn, £50; Thetford, £16; total, £260. 12s.

grumbled or rejoiced, knew exactly what they had to pay. As time went on, however, and the circumstances of many places changed greatly for the worse a new assessment must have been sorely needed, but it was never made. The case was met by a system of deductions, of which more will be said presently.

From the foregoing explanation, we may arrive at a clear understanding of the significance of our record. It is not, as an earlier one would have been, a record of the exact value of the properties of the inhabitants of the county. But it is a full and complete account of the sums at which the towns, seaports, and country places in Norfolk were assessed on oath by royal commissioners and with the assent of the respective inhabitants in 1334. We may be perfectly certain, therefore, that we have in it undeniable evidence of the comparative importance of Norfolk in respect to the whole country, and also of its various places and districts in respect to one another in the year 1334, the period, perhaps, when the prosperity of the county was at its height. The pre-eminent position of the county is a well-known fact, recorded by all writers on the social history of England. The hitherto-received ideas of the foundation of that prosperity and of its local distribution will, I think, be found to require some considerable modification in face of the facts here disclosed.

The total amount raised in the whole kingdom by the tax of 1334 was somewhat more than £38,000. Of this Norfolk contributed £3,486. 14s. 6d., being the largest amount raised in any county except Middlesex, including London. Professor Thorold Rogers commenting on this fact says,⁴ speaking of 1341, "The assessment of the county of Norfolk is far in excess, estimated rateably by the acreage, of that of any other county.

⁴ *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, p. 115.

..... The cause is the inclusion of the opulent city of Norwich within the assessment." Further on⁵ he says, "In the earliest assessment Norfolk, excluding London with Middlesex, was the most opulent county in England. The explanation of the fact is, that in the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth centuries, it was for the time densely peopled, being the principal seat of the woollen manufacture and in close relation with the Low Countries. It grew large quantities of barley, which was exported, either raw or malted, to Flanders. The cloth manufacture was carried on in many villages and small towns: the linen was principally woven at Aylsham." This language very fairly represents what is the generally-received explanation of the early prosperity of Norfolk. It is assumed to rest on a supposed extensive development of the manufacture of woollen cloth, even before the immigration of Flemish weavers in the reign of Edward III. That such a manufacture existed in the county in certain places is, of course, capable of proof. That it was so extensively practised as to set the county above others in wealth is certainly not in accordance with the details of this assessment.

The assessment contains the places arranged in hundreds, with the exception of Norwich and Yarmouth, which are set by themselves. The separate assessment of each place is given, and the total of each hundred. An analysis of these details brings out some interesting results. The place with the highest assessment in the county is Yarmouth, £100; the next, Norwich, £94. 12s. Lynn, which is entered under the Hundred of Freebridge, stands at £50; to which must be added South Lynn, £18. The high assessments of Yarmouth and Lynn are easily explained. They were two of the largest seaports in

⁵ P. 130.

the kingdom. The former especially, at this time, was probably in the enjoyment of the highest prosperity it ever attained to. But it must be confessed that the comparatively subordinate position of Norwich presents some difficulty. Are we really to suppose that its wealth at this time was inferior to that of Yarmouth? That seems hardly probable, yet it is difficult in any other way to account for the two valuations. At all events, it does not appear that the "opulence" of Norwich was the cause of the pre-eminence of Norfolk among the counties of England.

It is, however, when we leave these three towns, which we should expect to take an unrivalled lead in the county, that we find what we are hardly prepared for. Following out the list of the highest assessments, we find that next to Lynn comes Terrington, assessed at £40; then Wiggenhall, £37; Walpole, £35; Tilney, £30; Walsoken, £26. 8s.; West Walton, £23. It will be observed that all these six are in the Hundred of Freebridge, and in the Marshland district. They are followed by Swaffham, £20; Snettisham, £19; Heacham, £16. 10s.; Setchford, £15. 10s. (all except Swaffham in the adjoining Hundred of Smithdon); and Gayton, £15, again in Freebridge. Thetford, with £16, and North Walsham, with £15, are the only other places in the county assessed at £15 and upwards.

This prosperity of individual places in the western part of the county comes out still more clearly if we examine the hundreds. There are thirty-two hundreds, and they differ considerably in the number of their townships, the smallest, East Flegg, having only nine, and South Erpingham having thirty-nine. The total number of townships⁶ separately assessed, with Norwich and

⁶ The area of assessment was a township, not a parish. Several of the townships contained more than one parish.

Yarmouth, is 658, and the total amount of the tax is £3486. 14s. 6d. For the purpose of comparison among the country districts we may exclude not only Norwich and Yarmouth, but also Lynn and South Lynn, whose combined contributions amount to £262. 12s. 0d. This leaves £3224. 2s. 6d. contributed by 654 places, giving an average assessment of £4. 18s. 7d. for each. An examination of Appendix B, in which is set down for each hundred the number of its townships and the average amount of their assessments, would give the following result. South Erpingham, with thirty-nine townships, contributes £132. 17s. 0d.; North Erpingham, with thirty-two, contributes £104. 16s. 8d.; whereas Freebridge, with thirty-two, raises £378. 12s. 0d.; and Smithdon, with only twenty-one, raises £172. 12s. 0d. If we take the hundreds which have the highest average of assessment per township, they come in the following order:—Freebridge, £11. 17s. 3d.; Smithdon, £8. 4s. 4d.; Clackclose, £7. 4s. 2d.; South Greenhoe, £6. 8s. 9d.; North Greenhoe, £6. 6s. 4d. The others which reach or surpass the average for the county are, Earsham, £5. 18s. 8d.; East Flegg, £5. 18s. 7d.; Wayland, £5. 14s. 0d.; Grimshoe, £5. 13s. 5d.; Happing, £5. 11s. 9d.; Tunstead, £4. 19s. 10d.; Brothercross, £4. 18s. 7d.; Mitford, £4. 18s. 4d. It thus appears that the three most westerly hundreds of the county occupy a distinctly leading position, the highest average by far being attained in the extensive hundred of Freebridge. If, on the other hand, we take the hundreds which encircle the city of Norwich, we find them standing quite at the bottom of the list, Taverham and Humbleyard with forty-two townships between them having the two lowest averages in the county, £2. 10s. 10d. and £2. 10s. 0d.; while Blofield with £3. 10s. 0d., Henstead, £3. 17s. 7d., and Forehoe, £3. 10s. 1d., are all as much below the average as the hundreds round Lynn are above it.

How are we to explain these facts? Plainly, they are inconsistent with the theory that the high position of Norfolk among the English counties, in 1334, was in any way due to the opulence of the City of Norwich. Nor, again, in the face of these statistics can it be assigned to manufacturing industry in country villages. Commercial intercourse with Flanders must, no doubt, have contributed towards it. But even in this respect the matter is not altogether clear. The facts with regard to its three great towns are suggestive. Lynn, though in point of assessment the lowest of the three, appears to have been in decidedly the most favourable position. All around it were flourishing townships, and we may reasonably gather that the outlet and the sources of supply were mutually supporting each other. But if this were so in the neighbourhood of Lynn, why not elsewhere? Yarmouth, the highest assessed of all, stands, in its own district, alone in its prosperity; and as to Norwich, it sits on its supposed throne of eminence, isolated, amidst a surrounding of the least prosperous districts of the whole county. How are we to account for this? Was the outgoing trade of Yarmouth drawn almost exclusively from Norwich, and did Norwich absorb all its imports? Even so, why did not the formation of the supply at Norwich, and the distribution there of the treasures of Flanders and Burgundy make Norwich a centre of beneficent influence to the surrounding districts? These are questions to which our document does not help us to give an answer.

Before, however, we definitely accept the theory that the western hundreds of the county were in a more prosperous condition than the eastern, it is necessary to consider the question from another point of view, that of the acreage or area. Now a line drawn from a little to the east of Wells on the north to Lopham

on the south (where the Little Ouse starts its course westward, and the Waveney its course eastwards) will exactly divide the county into two portions as nearly equal as possible in point of area. Four of the hundreds, North Greenhoe, Mitford, Shropham, and Guiltercross, are divided by this line. Without making too minute a calculation of the townships on either side of the line, it will be sufficiently fair to place North Greenhoe and Shropham on the western side, and Mitford and Guiltercross on the eastern. We then arrive at the interesting result that the combined assessment of the western division is £1583. 16s. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ d., while that of the eastern is £1640. 5s. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ d., a difference of little more than £56. We should, therefore, conclude that if the valuation depended on agricultural produce, as I believe it did, the conditions on the whole tended to equalize themselves throughout the whole county. If the hundreds had been more equal in size, and the townships included in them more equal in number, their assessment would have been fairly equal. It is in this inequality that the great difference lies. In the division we have just made there are on the west of the dividing line but eleven hundreds, while on the east there are twenty-one. The eleven western hundreds contain 239 townships averaging in assessment £6. 12s. 6d. per township whereas the twenty-one eastern hundreds contain 413 townships, which average only £3. 19s. 6d. It appears then, that the superior valuation of the western townships, as compared with the eastern, depended at least to some extent on their greater area. The eastern division of the county was much more thickly studded over with separate village organizations than the west. Of course this had nothing to do with the time or conditions which we are now considering. It was the result of the original settlement of Angles and Danes

What is apparent from this assessment is that 239 townships in the western half of the county were estimated at the same value as 415 occupying an equal area in the eastern. How far the density of the population corresponded with the density of the townships, could only be found by an examination of the lists of contributors in earlier assessments. Probably it would be found that the east was more thickly peopled than the west. If so, it follows that the people were poorer. At all events, it would seem natural to suppose that in the larger townships the ownership and occupancy of the land would be in possession of fewer people, and if they could pay as much as where the owners and tenants were more numerous, they must have been proportionately wealthier. In any case the Marshland and some of the adjoining townships must be looked upon as exceptionally wealthy. On these matters more information may, perhaps, be found some day in the Inventories of earlier assessments, and in the numerous Manorial Extents, Rentals, and Bailiffs' Account Rolls, which lie scattered in public and private muniment rooms throughout the county.

Meanwhile, one thing may be accepted as certain. Whatever causes the prosperity of the county rested on, they operated in the west, so far as personal wealth was concerned, to a greater extent than they were doing elsewhere. And they were, fundamentally, agricultural. We can hardly be wrong in concluding that wool-growing, for a foreign market, was still the chief source of wealth. The Marshland townships flourished on their pastures, and, perhaps, the more upland districts of that part of the county, with its extensive open heaths, owed some at least of their prosperity to large sheep-walks. These details must be left till local documents throw light upon them.

On the whole, we may remark that perhaps the chief interest of this document lies in the fact that it enables us to take a purview of the county at a specially critical epoch. It shews us what had been, and what might reasonably have been expected to be, had not the immediate future falsified all expectations. We catch sight of the condition of the county when the healthy agricultural and economic progress of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries had not yet received its fatal check. And here it is important to observe that, although in comparison with the abundant wealth of Freebridge, Smithdon, and Clackclose, the condition of many of the other hundreds seems meagre and poor, we must not be misled. Everywhere we find villages, which have long since ceased to have a separate existence, capable of bearing at least a moderate, in many cases a very fair, burden of assessment. Even where there is no evidence of general prosperity in a hundred there is no suggestion of any general decay. The lowest assessment of any township, about 20s., represents possessions in moveable goods to the value of £15, a sum equivalent to at least £200 in our own day; and, as we have seen, the average maintained throughout the whole county was nearly five times that amount. This accords with what we know from other sources. Subinfeudation in the previous century had created a large number of free landowners. And on the manorial estates, not only the "libere tenentes," but the "villani," were universally in possession of houses and lands held in farm, the profits of which were practically their own. Even in many cases, "nativi" themselves were holding lands on the same terms as those who were free in birth. All these had their stock and their goods as well as the manorial lord. It would probably be found that the rich assessments in Marshland were largely

contributed to by tenants in villainage and even in personal serfdom. A corroboration of this view of the general distribution of a fair amount of competence may be found in the analysis of the comparative valuations of the townships. If we divide them into five classes we find that of townships assessed (1) at £15 and upwards there are 13; (2) at between £10 and £14 there are 43; (3) between £5 and £9 there are 175; (4) between £2 and £4 there are 328; and (5) under £2 there are 94. Only one is assessed at less than 20s. By far the larger number, therefore, of the townships occupied a medium position, comparatively few being either exceptionally wealthy or very poor.

So far as could be judged at that time, this healthy progress shewed every sign of being maintained. No shadow of the Black Death had yet come over the land. No definite sign of a great economic change had yet revealed itself. The only apparent sign of what the future was to bring forth was in the gradual development of a native manufacture of woollen cloth. On this point a few words may be said. In a previous paper in this volume⁷ I have ventured to question its introduction into the city of Norwich up to the end of the thirteenth century. It is true that a commencement of the industry had been already made in the county. That "panni de Worthstede" and "panni de Aylsham" are mentioned in 1301, is a sufficient proof that cloth, whether of wool or linen, was manufactured at those places, and may have been some time before. Moreover, between 1310 and 1320 a "Worthstede Rowe" begins to be mentioned in Norwich. So far, indeed, had the native trade advanced, that in 1331 Norwich had been made one of the "staple" towns, to the vexation of its neighbour, Great Yarmouth. But

⁷ P. 61.

the evidence of this assessment seems to shew that at present this industry had not produced any appreciable effect either on the city of Norwich or the surrounding district. The local prosperity of Worstead and Aylsham was not shared to any extent by the other townships around them. The great impulse given to this industry in Norfolk must, it seems, be almost exclusively dated from the immigration of Flemish weavers at the invitation of Queen Philippa, which, according to Blomefield, took place within two or three years after this assessment was made.

No one in 1334 could have foreseen what the immediate future had in store. Had speculative companies existed in those days it seems likely that the prospects of Lynn and Yarmouth might have taken their fancy rather than those of Norwich. They might have regarded with some alarm the possible silting up of Yarmouth harbour, but Lynn at all events seemed on the high road to pre-eminent prosperity. How little would they have foreseen the great pestilences and foreign wars which were so soon to cast a blight on all the economic progress of two hundred years, or, on the other hand, the immense development of manufacturing industry.

The Assessment as reduced in the Fifteenth Century.

As is well known, the general prosperity of England received a very serious check in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the assessment as settled in 1334 became intolerably burdensome to a large number of

townships.⁸ In accordance with the practice of the times in financial matters, Parliament met the difficulty, not by a fresh assessment, but by allowing a reduction on the old list, which was supposed in theory still to hold good. The reduction was first made in 11 Hen. VI. (1432).⁹ In that year a deduction of £4,000 was allowed on the total amount of the tax of £38,000. This proved to be insufficient, and in 1449¹ the allowance was increased to £6,000, at which sum it remained permanently fixed. In other ways the tax failed to produce the old amount, and soon after the middle of the century it was calculated at £31,000 instead of over £38,000. The deduction was described as made "for the relief of poor towns, cities, and boroughs, desolate, wasted, or destroyed, or over greatly impoverished, or else to the said tax over greatly charged." It was granted rateably to each county according to the proportion of its contribution to the whole amount of the tax. Each county had permission to deal with its own allowance, making a detailed return to the King's Exchequer. It might be supposed from the language just quoted that it was intended for places specially suffering from temporary catastrophe or (from local causes) on the verge of dissolution. Official documents, however, in the middle ages generally have their colours laid on with an unsparing hand, and the county of Norfolk having got its due allowance proceeded to deal with it in a practical manner for the general benefit of all its members. The details of the operation have, unfortunately, not been preserved, but the general result is recorded in the *Book of Pleas*. It may have been with a view to carrying it

⁸ The tax, as granted, was frequently two tenths, sometimes two tenths and a half.

⁹ Dowell's *History of Taxation*, i. 123.

¹ *Ib.*, p. 126.

out that the original list of the old assessment was made, from which the copy we are discussing was taken. The deductions are not part of the original copy, but are entered in a somewhat later hand. The mistakes and omissions have been rectified by collation with *Subsidy Rolls* in the Public Record Office, and the list appears to be perfect.

The total amount of the tax (without deductions) was rather more than £38,000.² Towards this Norfolk contributed £3,486. 14s. 6d. This approximates very nearly to one-eleventh, and would entitle the county to a similar proportion of the allowance of £6,000, say about £545. The amount of deduction actually accounted for is £543. 12s. 4½d., which may be taken as the full amount of the allowance. But it must be observed that there is an important omission of any allowance to Yarmouth, which deserves notice. We shall see presently that Yarmouth was frequently, perhaps constantly, exempted by special favour from the payment of this tax. There seems little doubt that the exemption was not charged upon the county allowance, so that the rest of the county benefited so far by the decay of its principal seaport. When we come to examine how the allowance was apportioned, we find that, as in the assessment, the townships were dealt with in their respective hundreds. If we take the division of the county in two halves, as we did before, it appears that the deductions allowed to the western half (including Lynn) are £267. 1s. 3½d., while those allowed to the eastern half (including Norwich) are £276. 11s. 1¼d. We should have gathered from this that the county dealt with its hundreds as the Crown did with the counties, and apportioned their allowances to the amount of their respective contributions to the

² Topham, *Archæologia* vii. 339, gives it, in 1373, as £38,170. 9s. 2½d.

tax. It is probable that this was the foundation of their action, but it was evidently much modified in its details. The normal amount of deduction was rather less than one-sixth. By the exclusion of Yarmouth it may be taken at that amount. Only seven of the hundreds received just that deduction. Most of them receive from one-fifth to one-seventh. Holt stands at one extreme with a reduction of nearly one-fourth, while at the other is East Flegg, with no more than one-eleventh; and Taverham, Walsham, and Diss are scarcely more liberally dealt with. It may be surmised that the county was sub-divided into perhaps three groups of hundreds, the western hundreds forming one group and the eastern two, the wealthier hundreds in each group being balanced against the poorer. There are some indications of such a course having been adopted,³ and it would manifestly give the Commissioners a freer hand.

When we proceed to enquire on what principle the distinction was made between the hundreds, we are unable to detect anything (except in one case) which indicates any great change in the conditions of the county, beyond the general decay. Nearly five-sixths of the whole number of townships receive some deduction, in many hundreds all or nearly all the townships having a share. The most conspicuous exceptions to this rule are Taverham, where twelve out of eighteen, and West Flegg, where seven out of fourteen townships have no allowance made to them. The one case where a plain cause for a large allowance may be assigned is that of the hundred of Holt, which owes its position as the most favourably treated hundred in the county to the liberal allowances made to Snitterley, which has an

³ For instance, East Flegg, West Flegg, and North Erpingham receive less than their share; but Happening and Tunstead have more, and South Erpingham has the normal one-sixth.

abatement of £5 out of £12, and Wiveton one of £7 out of £13. In other cases local causes were at work which might, no doubt, be explained by local history.

So far as a judgment can be formed of the general condition of the county and the relative wealth of its various parts, they did not differ materially from those we have found existent in 1334. The whole prosperity of the county was plainly on a lower level, but there is no evidence that the old agricultural conditions had yet to any extent given place to new. It is true that we are dealing only with deductions, and have no means of knowing what places might reasonably have borne an increase of taxation. But when we find places which received no allowance only few and far between, we are justified in concluding that in no part of the county was there any extensive revival to compensate for the general deterioration. If, for instance, woollen manufacture had given profitable employment to large numbers of persons, it would have shewn itself in some of the eastern hundreds, but it does not appear where it might be expected. The industry, which had flourished after the arrival of the Flemings, was suffering from the general blight that hung over the country, and had to wait for another century and a fresh influx of aliens, before it revived in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

The most interesting feature in this part of our subject is the treatment which was dealt out to the three great towns of Norwich, Yarmouth, and Lynn. Norwich had an abatement of more than one-tenth, Lynn of nearly one-seventh, and Yarmouth was entirely exempted.⁴

⁴ It was exempted in 31 Hen. VI.; 4 and 8 Edw. IV.; 3, 5, 7, and 12 Hen. VII.; 3, 5, 7, 26, 32, and 37 Hen. VIII.—Swinden, *History of Gt. Yarmouth*, 388. I cannot hear of any minor abatement being at any time recorded in the Subsidy Rolls.

The latter place had suffered severely from the immense expense of keeping open its harbour. A similar unfortunate fate had fallen upon Snitterley (Blakeney) and its immediate neighbour, Wiveton. With regard to Norwich and Lynn, and also to Yarmouth, it must be remembered that the tax we are considering had by this time lost a great deal of the importance it had possessed in 1334. Indirect taxation in the way of customs on wool and other articles of merchandize was a more profitable source of national income than this failing direct tax, and this consideration may help to modify our opinion of the actual condition of these towns, and perhaps some other places also. Before 1334 a merchant's increase of stock would have appeared at the annual assessment, but it did not appear in the subsequent returns of that tax when permanently fixed. A large amount of wealth might accumulate in the hands of a limited number of merchants without shewing itself on these lists. That this was the case is more than probable. Two facts point in this direction. One is this,—in response to a demand from the king in 1397 a number of cities and towns made contributions. London, of course, heads the list with £6666. 13s. 4d., then comes Bristol with £800, and then Norwich with £333. 6s. 8d. After that follows Boston with £300, and then Lynn with £266. 13s. 4d. Yarmouth comes some way down with £66. 13s. 4d.⁵ The other fact is gathered from the return of the Collection of the Poll Tax of 1377.⁶ From that return it appears that the required 4d. was contributed in Norwich by 3,952 persons, in Lynn by 3,152 persons, and in Yarmouth by 1,941. These facts are suggestive,—they seem to show that the

⁵ List in Cunningham's *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, i. 343.

⁶ See Topham's Subsidy Roll of 51 E. III. in *Archæologia*, vol. vii. p. 340.

earlier pre-eminence of Yarmouth in personal wealth was due to the valuation of the stock possessed by the owners of its "80 ships with forecastles and 140 ships without forecastles".⁷ From that high estate it had greatly fallen. Meanwhile Lynn had been following hard upon Norwich. Both places, as well as Yarmouth, had suffered heavily from the great plagues, and perhaps in 1377 had hardly recovered. But by 1396 they were both plainly in the way of prosperity. The next half-century was not a favourable period, yet we cannot imagine that either of them shared in the deduction of the Tenth and Fifteenths because they could not afford to pay the old amount. On the plea, no doubt, that they were being taxed in other ways, they were not above relieving themselves of a portion of this particular burden.

It only remains to add that no further alteration of this Tax was made till it was finally discontinued in 1623. When, after the Reformation, charitable bequests ceased to flow into the old religious channels, it was not uncommon for lands to be left in country parishes, the profits of which were to go to freeing the inhabitants for ever from the payment of the "King's Taske" or Tax, the "Tenth and Fifteenths" which had once formed the foundation of the national taxation.

⁷ Swinden's *Great Yarmouth*, p. 390.

**The Assessment of Norfolk for Tenths and Fifteenths
in 1334, with the Deductions made in 1449.**

(From the *Norwich Book of Pleas*, folios lxi.-lxv.).

Hec Indentura facta inter Willelmum, Priorem de Norwico, ex una parte, et Thomam de Blaston, Clericum, ex altera assignatos per commissionem Domini Regis ad tractandum super decimam a Civitatibus Burgis et Dominicis ipsius Domini Regis et xv^{am} a communitate Comitatus Norff.' tam infra libertates quam extra ad opus dicti Domini Regis Anno regni sui octavo, concordand' vel assidend' de circumspectione venerabilis patris W., Episcopi Norwicensis, si ad hoc vacare possit, testatur quod summe in eadem Indentura contente de villis et locis ibidem specificatis dicto Domino Regi debentur ad opus eiusdem per prefatum Priorem levand' et per eundem dicto Domino Regi solvend' ad scaccarium suum videlicet unam medietatem in crastino Epiphanie Domini proximo future et aliam medietatem in quindena purificationis beate Marie proximo sequentis: Et sciendum est quod predicti Prior et Thomas in dicto negocio de avisamento dicti patris pro maiore parte et process' et totius solucionis pecunie predicte assignarunt supradictos pro eo quod primus terminus solucionis eiusdem in commissione predicta specificatus transactus fuit antequam commissio illa ad prefatum Priorem pervenit. In cuius rei testimonium huic indenture cirographate in presentia dicti venerabilis patris predicti Prior et Thomas sigilla sua alternatim apposuerunt. Script^u ad Norwicum in crastino Nativitatis Domini anno regni dicti Domini Regis supradicto.

[*Translation.*—This Indenture made between William,¹ Prior of Norwich, of the one part, and Thomas de Blaston, clerk, of the other, assigned² by commission of the Lord King to treat concerning a Tenth from the Cities, Boroughs, and Demesnes of the said Lord King, and a Fifteenth from the Commonalty of the County of Norfolk as well within liberties as without, to the use of the said Lord King, in the eighth year of his reign, to be agreed and assessed by the supervision of the venerable Father W.,³ Bishop of Norwich, if he have leisure⁴ for this purpose, testifies that the sums in the said Indenture contained are due from the towns and places therein specified to the said Lord King to his use, to be levied by the aforesaid Prior and by him to be paid to the said Lord King at his exchequer, to wit, one moiety on the morrow⁵ of the Epiphany of the Lord next ensuing, and the other moiety in the quindene⁶ of the Purification of the Blessed Mary next following: And it is to be known that the aforesaid Prior and Thomas in the said business by advice of the said Father for the more part both of the process and of the whole

¹ William de Claxton, Prior from 1326 to 1344. Of Thomas de Blaston I can find no local mention. There is a place of that name in Leicestershire.

² The collection of the tax is put into the hands of the Prior and Thomas de Blaston, who, having finished their work, exchange with one another the two parts of an indenture by way of checking each other's proceedings.

³ William de Ayremine, Bishop from 1325—1336.

⁴ This whole transaction is highly suggestive of the times when it took place. Two high ecclesiastics are set to assess, collect, and pay the tax. The time had not yet come when there were laymen sufficiently trained and educated to undertake such work. Such a class, however, was rising up. Thomas de Blaston, "clerk," may have been a clerk of the Exchequer, only nominally in ecclesiastical orders. The mention of the Bishop's "leisure" refers, no doubt, to other official work in which he was engaged for the king.

⁵ 7th January, 1334.

⁶ The fortnight from 2nd to 16th February.

payment of the aforesaid money, have assigned the above-mentioned [terms] for that the first term⁷ of the said payment specified in the aforesaid commission was past before the commission came to the aforesaid Prior. In witness whereof, to this Indenture in the form of a chirograph⁸ in the presence of the said Venerable Father, the aforesaid Prior and Thomas have interchangeably set their seals. Written at Norwich on the morrow of the Nativity of the Lord in the aforesaid eighth year of the reign of the said Lord King.]

⁷ This explanation is quite unintelligible as it stands here. Its meaning is ascertained by a comparison with the writ previously issued by the king. [The corresponding writ for the county of Dorset will be found in *Rotuli Parliamentorum* (Record Commission) ii. 447.] The grant had been voted by Parliament on the Monday after the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14th September), and the dates of payment named in the writ were, for one half the morrow of St. Nicholas, *i.e.*, December 7th, and for the other half the quindene of the Purification, as stated here. The commission, however, did not reach the Prior till after the first date was passed. Yet within three weeks, on December 26th, this indenture was drawn and signed, with a complete list of all the sums due from every one of 658 places, and the first half of the money was actually paid by January 7th, a proof, surely, that the organization of the country for fiscal purposes was by no means contemptible.

⁸ *Chirographum* (handwriting) was a word generally written in long separate letters across the parchment, and through the middle of all the letters the indentation dividing the parchment into two parts was made. Each part was an exact duplicate of the other, and each party set his seal to the portion which the other party kept. The original meaning of an indenture has become so lost, that the curious may be interested to know that in the admirable Muniment Room provided by the Corporation of Norwich in the new Castle Museum, may be seen several specimens of the two parts of an indenture, which by some chance have both found a resting-place there, the teeth of which fit with the greatest exactness into each other.

ESTFLEG.			Assessment, 1334.			Deductions, c. 1449.	Reduced Assessment.			
			£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.	
Haringby	-	-	xl ^a	2	0	0	—	2	0	0
Thirkeby ¹	-	-	l ^a	2	10	0	—	2	10	0
Scruteby	-	-	c ^a	5	0	0	—	5	0	0
Mauteby	-	-	vj ^u xiiij ^a iiij ^d	6	13	4	xiiij ^a iiij ^d	6	0	0
Stokesby	-	-	cx ^a	5	10	0	x ^a	5	0	0
fileby	-	-	ix ^u	9	0	0	xx ^a	8	0	0
Ormisby	-	-	x ^u x ^a	10	10	0	xxvj ^a viij ^d	9	3	4
Castre	-	-	viij ^u	8	0	0	xx ^a	7	0	0
Runham	-	-	iiij ^u iiij ^a	4	4	0	viij ^a	3	16	0
Summa			liij ^u vij ^a iiij ^d	£53	7	4	iiij ^u xvij ^a	£48	9	4

WESTFLEG.

Hemesby	-	-	ix ^u	9	0	0	lx ^a	6	0	0
Etsomerton	-	-	ciij ^a	5	4	0	xiiij ^a	4	10	0
Clipsby	-	-	c ^a	5	0	0	—	5	0	0
Ouby	-	-	xxx ^a	1	10	0	—	1	10	0
Bastwike	-	-	xxxiiij ^a	1	14	0	—	1	14	0
Billokeby	-	-	xliij ^a	2	4	0	—	2	4	0
Martham	-	-	ix ^u xiiij ^a	9	14	0	xl ^a	7	14	0
Burgh	-	-	cvj ^a viij ^d	5	6	8	x ^a	4	16	8
Westsomerton	-	-	viij ^u viij ^d	8	0	8	xx ^a iiij ^d ^a	7	0	4
Rolisby	-	-	viij ^u ix ^a	7	9	0	xx ^a	6	9	0
Reppis	-	-	iiij ^u v ^a	4	5	0	—	4	5	0
Askeby	-	-	xxx ^a	1	10	0	x ^a	1	0	0
Thirne	-	-	xxviij ^a	1	8	0	—	1	8	0
Wynterton	-	-	vj ^u xv ^a	6	15	0	—	6	15	0
Sm ^a lxiix ^u iiij ^d				£69	0	4	viij ^u xiiij ^a iiij ^d	£60	6	0

¹ Thrigby.² In a few cases two different deductions are entered. Here is added, "No^a de Westsomton q' variat." The alternative deduction was £1. 13s. 4d. No explanation is given.

APPYNG.			Assessment, 1334.			Deductions, c. 1449.	Reduced Assessment.			
			£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.	
Sutton	-	-	lxviiij ^s	3	8	0	viiij ^s	3	0	0
Lesingham	-	-	xlviij ^s	2	8	0	—	2	8	0
Riston	-	-	xij ^u vj ^s	12	6	0	iiij ^u	8	6	0
Wastnesham	-	-	iiij ^u xij ^s	4	12	0	xl ^s	2	12	0
Pallyng	-	-	xliiiij ^s	2	4	0	iiij ^s	2	0	0
Ecclis	-	-	lxxij ^s	3	12	0	—	3	12	0
Hemsted	-	-	iiij ^u iiij ^s	4	3	0	xxiiij ^s	3	0	0
Brunsted	-	-	lxix ^s	3	9	0	vj ^s viiij ^d	3	2	4
Hikeling	-	-	viiij ^u xviij ^s	8	18	0	xxxiiij ^s iiij ^d	7	4	8
Walcote	-	-	vj ^u	6	0	0	xl ^s	4	0	0
Ingham	-	-	lxxiiij ^s	3	14	0	xiiij ^s	3	0	0
Stalham	-	-	ix ^u	9	0	0	xiiij ^s iiij ^d	8	6	8
Catefeld	-	-	vj ^u xiiij ^s	6	14	0	xiiij ^s	6	0	0
Hapesburgh	-	-	ix ^u x ^s	9	10	0	xxx ^s	8	0	0
Horsehey	-	-	xlviij ^s iiij ^d	2	8	4	—	2	8	4
Ludham	-	-	vij ^u xv ^s	7	15	0	xxxv ^s	6	0	0
Potte.e hegham	-	-	cv ^s	5	5	0	xxv ^s	4	0	0
Sm ^a iiij ^{xx} xv ^u vj ^s iiij ^d			£96	6	4	xviiij ^u vj ^s iiij ^d	£77	0	0	

TAVERHAM.

Taverham	-	-	xxxiiij ^s iiij ^d	1	13	4	—	1	13	4
Heymforde	-	-	iiij ^u	4	0	0	vj ^s viiij ^d	3	13	4
Wroxham	-	-	iiij ^u vj ^d	4	0	6	x ^s	3	10	6
Drayton	-	-	xl ^s	2	0	0	—	2	0	0
Crostthewit	-	-	xxiiij ^s	1	4	0	—	1	4	0
Rackheythe	-	-	xlviij ^s viiij ^d	2	6	8	viiij ^s	1	18	8
Beston	-	-	xliiiij ^s vj ^d	2	4	6	vj ^s	1	18	6
ffelthorp	-	-	xx ^s	1	0	0	—	1	0	0
Newton iuxta Hor-										
sham	-	-	xxxviiij ^s	1	18	0	—	1	18	0
Horsham Sce fidis	-	-	xlvi ^s	2	5	0	—	2	5	0
Horsford	-	-	xlvi ^s	2	5	0	—	2	5	0
Spikesworth	-	-	xxxiiij ^s ij ^d	1	13	2	—	1	13	2
Heilidon	-	-	xxx ^s	1	10	0	—	1	10	0
Attilbrigge	-	-	xxviij ^s	1	7	0	—	1	7	0
ffretenham	-	-	lxx ^s	3	10	0	xx ^s	2	10	0

Assessment, 1834.				Deductions, c. 1449.	Reduced Assessment.	
			£. s. d.		£. s. d.	
Horstede	-	iiij ^{li} xvij ^s	4 18 0	—		4 18 0
Sprouston	-	- vj ^{li}	6 0 0	xxx ^s		4 10 0
Catton	-	- xl ^s	2 0 0	—		2 0 0
Sm ^a xlv ^{li} xv ^s ij ^d			£45 15 2	iiij ^{li} vij ^d	£41 14 6	

BLOFELD.

Southbirlingham		iiij ^{li} xiiij ^s iiij ^d	4 13 4	xiiij ^s iiij ^d	4 0 0	
Witton	-	- xxxiiij ^s	1 14 0	iiij ^s	1 10 0	
Lymphenhowe & Southwode	-	- lx ^s	3 0 0	—	3 0 0	
Posewike	-	- lxxiiij ^s iiij ^d	3 13 4	xiiij ^s iiij ^d	3 0 0	
Thorp & Pokethorp		xlviij ^s	2 7 0	vij ^s	2 0 0	
Lingwod	-	- lxiiij ^s	3 3 0	vj ^s viij ^d	2 16 4	
Northbirlingham	-	- lxxv ^s	3 15 0	v ^s	3 10 0	
ffrethorp	-	- lxix ^s	3 9 0	ix ^s	3 0 0	
Bokenham ferie cum Hasyngham	-	- lxxvj ^s	3 16 0	xvj ^s	3 0 0	
Cantele	-	- vj ^{li}	6 0 0	xl ^s	4 0 0	
Brundale	-	- lviiij ^s	2 18 0	viiij ^s	2 10 0	
Plumstead parva	-	- xxij ^s	1 2 0	ij ^s	1 0 0	
Plumstead magna	-	- liiiij ^s	2 14 0	x ^s	2 4 0	
Breideston & Strum- peshagh	-	- cij ^s	5 2 0	xij ^s	4 10 0	
Blofeld	-	- ciij ^s	5 3 0	xiiij ^s iiij ^d	4 9 8	
Sm ^a lij ^{li} ix ^s viij ^d			£52 9 8	vij ^{li} xix ^s viij ^d	£44 10 0	

WALSHAM.

Hemlington	-	- xl ^s	2 0 0	—	2 0 0	
Walsham	-	- vj ^{li} x ^s	6 10 0	x ^s	6 0 0	
Wichampton	-	- lx ^s	3 0 0	x ^s	2 10 0	
Mouton	-	- lx ^s	3 0 0	—	3 0 0	
Beghton	-	- liiiij ^s	2 14 0	iiij ^s	2 10 0	
Tunstale	-	- c ^s	5 0 0	xviij ^s iiij ^d	4 1 8	
ffyshele	-	- xxviij ^s	1 8 0	—	1 8 0	
Halvergate	-	- lxxvj ^s	3 6 0	vj ^s	3 0 0	
Randeworth & Pank ^s		iiij ^{li} v ^s	4 5 0	vj ^s viij ^d	3 18 4	

^s Panxworth.

Assessment, 1834.				Deductions, c. 1449.	Reduced Assessment.		
			£. s. d.		£. s. d.		
Ocle - - -	vij ^{li} xvj ^s		7 16 0	xvj ^s		7 0 0	
Rodham ⁴ - -	iiij ^{li} xv ^s		4 15 0	xv ^s		4 0 0	
Upton - - -	iiij ^{li} xiiij ^s xj ^d		4 13 11	xiiij ^s xj ^d		4 0 0	
Woodbastwick -	xliiij ^s		2 4 0	vj ^s viij ^d		1 17 4	
Sm ^a l ^{li} xj ^s xj ^d			£50 11 11	v ^{li} vj ^s viij ^d		£45 5 4	

LODENE.

Lodene - - -	x ^{li} ix ^s ix ^d	10 9 9	lx ^s	7 9 9
Hardele - - -	lx ^s	3 0 0	xliiij ^s	2 6 0
Laungele - -	cx ^s ij ^d	5 10 2	xxx ^s ij ^d	4 0 0
Mundham - -	cx ^s vj ^d	5 10 6	xxliiij ^s	4 6 6
Hedenham - -	iiij ^{li}	4 0 0	xliiij ^s	3 6 0
Thweyt - - -	xxx ^s	1 10 0	—	1 10 0
Helgheton - -	xxvj ^s viij ^d	1 6 8	—	1 6 8
Aysheby - - -	xxviij ^s	1 8 0	—	1 8 0
Chategrave - -	xl ^s j ^d	2 0 1	xvj ^s	1 4 1
Sithyngg - -	iiij ^{li} xiiij ^s	4 13 0	xx ^s	3 13 0
Carleton - - -	lxviij ^s x ^d	3 7 10	xviij ^s x ^d	2 10 0
Broome - - -	lvij ^s	2 17 0	vij ^s	2 10 0
Langhale - -	lxxj ^s	3 11 0	xviij ^s	2 14 0
Claxton - - -	lxx ^s	3 10 0	xx ^s	2 10 0
Thurton - - -	xl ^s	2 0 0	vj ^s viij ^d	1 13 4
Alpington - -	xxxvj ^s	1 16 0	x ^s	1 6 0
Bhedingham - -	lxxiiij ^s ij ^d	3 13 2	xij ^s	3 1 2
Topcroft - - -	iiij ^{li} xij ^s	4 12 0	xx ^s	3 12 0
Ditchingham - -	iiij ^{li} ij ^s	4 2 0	vj ^s	3 16 0
Wodeton - - -	lxxvj ^s	3 16 0	xij ^s	3 4 0
Sm ^a lxxij ^{li} xiiij ^s ij ^d		£72 13 2	xv ^{li} vj ^s viij ^d	£57 6 6

KNAUERYNG.⁵

Elingham - - -	iiij ^{li} xliiij ^s	4 14 0	xliiij ^s	4 0 0
Brooke - - -	lxxviij ^s vj ^d	3 17 6	vij ^s vj ^d	3 10 0
Hekingham - -	lv ^s	2 15 0	x ^s	2 5 0
Wynston - - -	xxvj ^s	1 6 0	xliiij ^s	0 12 0

⁴ So spelt; perhaps a mistake of the copyist for Redham.⁵ Clavering.

Assessment, 1834.				Deductions, c. 1448.	Reduced Assessment.
					£. s. d.
Norton - -	iiij ^{li} iiij ^s iiij ^d	4	4	viiij ^s viij ^d	3 15 8
Halis - -	l ^s	2	10	x ^s	2 0 0
Aldeby - -	vij ^{li} iiij ^s	7	4	xliiij ^s	5 0 0
Wyndeley - -	xxvij ^s iiij ^d	1	7	vij ^s iiij ^d	1 0 0
Stokton - -	vj ^{li} v ^s	6	5	xl ^s	4 5 0
Gylingham - -	lx ^s iiij ^d	3	0	xliiij ^s	2 6 4
Toft Monachorum - -	cxij ^s	5	12	—	5 12 0
Bergh & Apeton - -	cxiiij ^s iiij ^d	5	13	xxvj ^s viij ^d	4 6 8
Hadiscoo Thorp - -	lxxiiij ^s	3	14	—	3 14 0
Kyrkeby - -	cviiij ^s	5	8	viiij ^s	5 0 0
Thurverton - -	lxxj ^s	3	11	xj ^s	3 0 0
Rolvenigham - -	cviiij ^s xj ^d	5	8	xiiij ^s iiij ^d	4 15 7
Quet Acre - -	lxx ^s	3	10	x ^s	3 0 0
Geldeston - -	lxx ^s	3	10	xx ^s	2 10 0
Howe - -	lxij ^s	3	2	xx ^s	2 2 0
Sm ^a lxxvj ^{li} xij ^s ix ^d				£76 12 9 xiiij ^{li} xviiij ^s vj ^d	£62 14 3

DEPWADE.

Bonewell - -	vj ^{li}	6	0	xiiij ^s iiij ^d	5 6 8
Molton - -	cxiiij ^s	5	14	xiiij ^s	5 0 0
Waketon - -	xlviij ^s viij ^d	2	6	—	2 6 8
Aslacton - -	xxxvj ^s	1	16	xx ^s	0 16 0
Stratton - -	vj ^{li} x ^s	6	10	xiiij ^s iiij ^d	5 16 8
Herdwyke - -	xxviiij ^s	1	8	—	1 8 0
Tasburgh - -	lxv ^s	3	5	v ^s	3 0 0
ffreton - -	iiij ^{li}	4	0	x ^s	3 10 0
Shelton - -	lxv ^s	3	5	viiij ^s	2 17 0
Hemenhale - -	vij ^{li} ij ^s	7	2	xij ^s	6 10 0
ffundenhale - -	xlviij ^s	2	6	—	2 6 0
Rode Carleton - -	vj ^{li} xiiij ^s	6	14	xiiij ^s	6 0 0
Tacolneston - -	lx ^s	3	0	x ^s	2 10 0
ffornesett - -	iiij ^{li} x ^s	4	10	xx ^s	3 10 0
Morningthorp - -	liij ^s	2	13	xx ^s	1 13 0
Disshewell - -	xxxiiij ^s	1	14	viiij ^s	1 6 0
Thirston - -	vj ^{li} ij ^s	6	2	xxx ^s	4 12 0
Hapton - -	l ^s	2	10	—	2 10 0
Tybenham - -	cxv ^s xj ^d	5	15	xx ^s	4 15 11
Sm ^a lxxvj ^{li} xj ^s vij ^d				£76 11 7 x ^{li} xviiij ^s viij ^d	£65 13 11

HENSTED.	Assessment, 1834.			Deductions, c. 1449.	Reduced Assessment.		
		£.	s. d.		£.	s. d.	
Newton cum Trowse	xlviij ^a	2	8 0	viiij ^a	2	0 0	
fframelingham Picot	l ^a	2	10 0	—	2	10 0	
Castre - -	lvj ^a	2	16 0	vj ^a	2	10 0	
Kyrkeby Baydon -	vj ⁱⁱ j ^{maro}	6	13 4	xx ^a	5	13 4	
Rokelond - -	ciiij ^a	5	4 0	xxiiij ^a	4	0 0	
Biskele - - -	xxij ^a ij ^d	1	2 2	—	1	2 2	
fframelingham							
Comitis - -	xxxiiij ^a	1	14 0	—	1	14 0	
Yelverton - -	xl ^a	2	0 0	—	2	0 0	
Wytlyngham - -	lvj ^a	2	16 0	vj ^a	2	10 0	
Surlingham - -	vj ⁱⁱ iiij ^a	6	4 0	xij ^a	5	12 0	
Amerynghale - -	xxvj ^a viij ^d	1	6 8	—	1	6 8	
Saxlyngham - -	vij ⁱⁱ vj ^a viij ^d	7	6 8	xxvj ^a viij ^d	6	0 0	
Holveston - -	xxxviij ^a	1	18 0	x ^a	1	8 0	
Cruchiston ⁶ - -	lxxiiij ^a	3	13 0	xviij ^a	2	15 0	
Shotesham - -	xij ⁱⁱ	12	0 0	liij ^a iiij ^d	9	6 8	
Porynglond - -	lx ^a	3	0 0	vj ^a viij ^d	2	13 4	
Bramerton - -	lxviij ^a	3	8 0	—	3	8 0	
Sm ^a lxv ⁱⁱ xix ^a x ^d		£65	19 10	ix ⁱⁱ x ^a viij ^d	£56	9 2	

FFRETHERBRIGG.⁷

Hillyngton - -	vij ⁱⁱ x ^a	7	10 0	xx ^a	6	10 0
Bauseye - - -	xxxv ^a	1	15 0	v ^a	1	10 0
Grimeston - -	x ⁱⁱ ij ^a	10	2 0	xiiij ^a iiij ^d	9	8 8
Castel Rysing -	vj ⁱⁱ	6	0 0	vj ^a viij ^d	5	13 4
Penteneye - -	xlviij ^a	2	8 0	x ^a	1	18 0
Tilneye - - -	xxx ⁱⁱ	30	0 0	xl ^a	28	0 0
Anemere - - -	lxv ^a	3	5 0	x ^a	2	15 0
South Wotton -	lxxiiij ^a	3	13 0	x ^a	3	3 0
Walpole - - -	xxxv ⁱⁱ x ^a	35	10 0	viiij ⁱⁱ	27	10 0
Enemeth - - -	xiiij ⁱⁱ	13	0 0	xxvj ^a viij ^d	11	13 4
Congham - - -	ciiij ^a	5	3 0	xvj ^a viij ^d	4	6 4
Lenn - - - -	l ⁱⁱ	50	0 0	vij ⁱⁱ xiiij ^a iiij ^d	42	6 8
Wiggenhale - -	xxxviij ⁱⁱ	37	0 0	lx ^a	34	0 0
Westacre - - -	iiij ⁱⁱ vij ^a	4	7 0	vj ^a viij ^d	4	0 4

⁶ Spelt in another copy, "Cruchistok." It is Stoke Holy Cross.⁷ Includes the hundreds of Freebridge Lynn and Freebridge Marahland.

Assessment, 1334.					Deductions, c. 1449.	Reduced Assessment.	
						£.	s. d.
Harpele	-	-	vj ^{li} vj ^a	6 6 0	xij ^a	5 14 0	
Massingham Parva	-	-	iiij ^{li}	4 0 0	xx ^a	3 0 0	
Northrungeton	-	-	xij ^{li}	12 0 0	lij ^a	9 8 0	
West Walton	-	-	xxiiij ^{li}	23 0 0	lx ^a	20 0 0	
Geywoode cum							
Muntell	-	-	vij ^{li}	7 0 0	xxvj ^a viij ^d	5 13 4	
Castelacre	-	-	xij ^{li}	12 0 0	iiij ^{li} xiiij ^a iiij ^d	7 6 8	
Geyton	-	-	xv ^{li}	15 0 0	liij ^a iiij ^d	12 6 8	
Massingham Magna	-	-	xij ^{li}	12 0 0	liij ^a iiij ^d	9 6 8	
Estwynche	-	-	iiij ^{li}	4 0 0	vj ^a viij ^d	3 13 4	
Middelton	-	-	vij ^{li}	7 0 0	lij ^a	4 8 0	
Tyrington	-	-	xl ^{li} ix ^a	40 9 0	xlviij ^a	38 1 0	
Suthlenn	-	-	xviij ^{li}	18 0 0	xxxiiij ^a iiij ^d	16 6 8	
Westnewton	-	-	xlix ^a	2 9 0	vj ^a viij ^d	2 2 4	
Allesthorp	-	-	xlvj ^a viij ^d	2 6 8	vj ^a viij ^d	2 0 0	
fflicham	-	-	xiiij ^{li}	13 0 0	xl ^a	11 0 0	
Dersingham	-	-	vij ^{li} vij ^a	7 7 0	xiiij ^a iiij ^d	6 13 8	
Babbinglee	-	-	xiiij ^{li}	14 0 0	iiij ^{li}	11 0 0	
Est Walton	-	-	viiij ^{li}	8 0 0	xxxiiij ^a iiij ^d	6 6 8	
Bylney	-	-	liij ^a iiij ^d	2 13 4	x ^a	2 3 4	
Walsoken	-	-	xxvj ^{li} viij ^a	26 8 0	xxvj ^a viij ^d	25 1 4	
Sm ^a ccccxlvj ^{li} xij ^a				£446 12 0	lxiiij ^{li} v ^a viij ^d	£384 6 4	

SMETH'.⁸

Holme	-	-	xiiij ^{li}	x ^a	13	10	0	xl ^a	11	10	0
Thornham	-	-	vj ^{li}	xiiij ^a	6	14	0	—	6	14	0
Sharnborne	-	-	iiij ^{li}	x ^a	4	10	0	xiiij ^a iiij ^d	3	16	8
Brankcestre	-	-	viiij ^{li}	iiij ^a	8	4	0	—	8	4	0
Toftes	-	-	iiij ^{li}	xiiij ^a	4	13	0	xiiij ^a iiij ^d	3	19	8
Ryngsted Parva	-	-	xliij ^a		2	3	0	ix ^a viij ^d	1	13	4
Stanhowe	-	-	ix ^{li}	x ^a	9	10	0	xl ^a	7	10	0
Suthmere	-	-	lvj ^a		2	16	0	xxvj ^a	2	0	0
Chosele	-	-	xxxvj ^a		1	16	0	xxvj ^a	1	0	0
Snetesham	-	-	xix ^{li}		19	0	0	vj ^{li}	13	0	0
Ingaldestorp	-	-	lvj ^a		2	16	0	vj ^a	2	10	0
Dokkyng	-	-	xiiij ^{li}		13	0	0	xx ^a	12	0	0

⁸ Smithdon.

Assessment, 1834.				Deductions, c. 1449.	Reduced	
					Assessment.	
				£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
Brecham °	-	-	xj ^u x ^a	11 10 0	xxvj ^a viij ^d	10 3 4
Hecham	-	-	xvj ^u x ^a	16 10 0	xl ^a	14 10 0
Hunstanton	-	-	viiij ^u xij ^a	8 12 0	xxxij ^a	7 0 0
Byngsted Magna	-	-	x ^u	10 0 0	xxx ^a	8 10 0
Neuton	-	-	iiij ^u viij ^a	4 8 0	xxviij ^a	3 0 0
ffrenge	-	-	vij ^u	7 0 0	xxvj ^a viij ^d	5 13 4
Berewike	-	-	lxx ^a	3 10 0	x ^a	3 0 0
Sechford	-	-	xv ^u x ^a	15 10 0	vj ^u	9 10 0
Tichewell	-	-	vij ^u	7 0 0	xxx ^a	5 10 0
Sm ^a clxxij ^u xij ^a				£172 12 0	xxxi ^u xvij ^a viij ^d	£140 14 4

HUNDR' DE BROTHER'.¹

Sidestern	-	-	vj ^u xiiij ^a iiij ^d	6 13 4	xxxiiij ^a iiij ^d	5 0 0
Shireford	-	-	lx ^a	3 0 0	—	3 0 0
Brunham Westage ²	-	-	xij ^u x ^a	12 10 0	iiij ^u x ^a	9 0 0
Testerton	-	-	xliiv ^a	2 4 0	xiiij ^a	1 10 0
Toftes	-	-	vj ^u	6 0 0	xx ^a	5 0 0
Bermere	-	-	liij ^a	2 13 0	xiiij ^a iiij ^d	1 19 8
Brunham Norton	-	-	viiij ^u iiij ^a	8 4 0	xxxiiij ^a	6 10 0
Depedale	-	-	xlv ^a	2 5 0	viiij ^a iiij ^d	1 16 8
Pudding Norton	-	-	xxij ^a	1 2 0	—	1 2 0
Taterford	-	-	xliij ^a	2 2 0	—	2 2 0
Estreynham	-	-	vj ^u	6 0 0	xx ^a	5 0 0
Howton	-	-	vj ^u	6 0 0	xiiij ^a iiij ^d ³	5 6 8
Hempton	-	-	xl ^a	2 0 0	—	2 0 0
Westrudham	-	-	-vij ^u xiiij ^a iiij ^d	7 13 4	xxxiiij ^a iiij ^d	6 0 0
Southreynham	-	-	lxv ^a	3 5 0	xv ^a	2 10 0
Riborough Magna	-	-	cvj ^a	5 6 0	xxvj ^a viij ^d	3 19 4
Westreynham	-	-	cx ^a	5 10 0	xl ^a	3 10 0
Estruddham	-	-	-vj ^u x ^a	6 10 0	xiiij ^a iiij ^d	5 16 8
Dunton & Dokketon	-	-	iiij ^u ij ^a	4 2 0	xij ^a	3 10 0
Baggethorp	-	-	xliij ^a	2 2 0	—	2 2 0
Helgheton	-	-	lxviij ^a viij ^d	3 7 8	x ^a	2 17 8
Brunham Sci Clementis ⁴	-	-	x ^u	10 0 0	lxxiiij ^a	6 6 0
Sm ^a cviiij ^u ix ^a iiij ^d				£108 9 4	xxij ^u x ^a viij ^d	£85 18 8

⁰ Great Bircham.¹ Brothercross.² Burnham Westgate.³ x^a vel xiiij^a iiij^d.⁴ Burnham Overy.

GRYMESH' ^s		Assessment, 1334.			Deductions, c. 1449.		Reduced Assessment.		
			£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Wilton -	-	ix ^{li} xij ^s vj ^d	9	12	6	xl ^s	7	12	6
Wetingg -	-	vij ^{li} x ^s	7	10	0	xl ^s	5	10	0
Santon -	-	lxij ^s iiij ^d	3	2	4	xij ^s	2	10	4
Lineford -	-	l ^s	2	10	0	x ^s	2	0	0
Colueston -	-	xlvs ^s iiij ^d ob	2	5	4½	iiij ^s	2	1	4½
Stanford -	-	vj ^{li} x ^s vj ^d	6	10	6	xx ^s	5	10	6
Croxton -	-	iiij ^{li} vj ^s v ^d	4	6	5	viijs ^s	3	18	5
Mundeford -	-	lxxvij ^s x ^d	3	17	10	x ^s	3	7	10
Bokenham Parva -	-	xxvij ^s	1	8	0	vj ^s viij ^d	1	1	4
Methewolde -	-	x ^{li} xij ^s x ^d	10	12	10	xxvj ^s viij ^d	9	6	2
Ikeborough -	-	lv ^s iiij ^d q ^s	2	15	3½	vj ^s iiij ^d	2	8	11½
Westetoftes	-	lxxiiij ^s viij ^d ob q ^s	3	14	8½	vj ^s j ^d ob	3	8	7½
Stirton -	-	lijs ^s vij ^d	2	12	7	xiijs ^s iiij ^d	1	19	3
Cranwize -	-	lvjs ^s viij ^d	2	16	8	vjs ^s	2	10	8
feltewell -	-	xij ^{li} vjs ^s v ^d ob	12	6	5½	xxxiijs ^s iiij ^d	10	13	1½
Northwold -	-	xiiij ^{li} xiii ^s q ^s	14	14	0½	xl ^s viij ^d	12	13	4½
<hr/>									
Sm ^s iiij ^s xx ^{li} xv ^s vj ^d q ^s		£90	15	6½	xiiij ^{li} iijs ^s j ^d ob	£76	12	4½	

MITEFORD.

Hardingham -	-	cvjs ^s	5	6	0	xij ^s	4	14	0
Hokering -	-	xxxiiij ^s	1	14	0	vjs ^s	1	8	0
Laxham -	-	lxx ^s	3	10	0	x ^s	3	0	0
Letton -	-	lxx ^s	3	10	0	xij ^s	2	18	0
Southbergh -	-	xlvs ^s	2	6	0	vjs ^s	2	0	0
Thoukston -	-	iiij ^{li}	4	0	0	xx ^s	3	0	0
Qwynbergh -	-	lxiiij ^s	3	4	0	xiiij ^s	2	10	0
Northtotenham -	-	vij ^{li} x ^s	7	10	0	l ^s	5	0	0
Estderham -	-	xiiij ^{li} x ^s	14	10	0	—	14	10	0
Shipdam -	-	x ^{li}	10	0	0	xiijs ^s iiij ^d	9	6	8
Wodrisinge -	-	lx ^s	3	0	0	xij ^s	2	8	0
Mateshale -	-	viijs ^{li} iiij ^s	8	4	0	xxxiiij ^s	6	10	0
Gerveston -	-	lxx ^s	3	10	0	xij ^s	2	18	0
Rymerston -	-	lxxvj ^s	3	16	0	xvj ^s	3	0	0
Esttodenham -	-	c ^s	5	0	0	xxvj ^s viij ^d	3	13	4
Craneworth -	-	l ^s	2	10	0	—	2	10	0
Westfeld -	-	xlijs ^s	2	2	0	—	2	2	0
<hr/>									
Sm ^s iiij ^s xxiijs ^{li} xij ^s		£83	12	0	xij ^{li} iijs ^s	£71	8	0	

^s Grimshoe.

HUMYLL'. ⁶			Assessment, 1834.			Deductions, c. 1449.		Reduced Assessment.		
			£.	s.	d.			£.	s.	d.
Hedersete	-	-	cix ^a	5	9	0	xiiij ^a iiij ^d	4	15	8
Merkeshale	-	-	xxij ^a	1	2	0	—	1	2	0
Estcarleton	-	-	liij ^a	2	14	0	vij ^a	2	6	0
Dunston	-	-	xxx ^a	1	10	0	—	1	10	0
Melton Magna	-	-	iiij ^u x ^a	4	10	0	xiiij ^a	3	16	0
Eton	-	-	xxv ^a	1	5	0	—	1	5	0
Neuton floteman & Kenyngham	-	-	iiij ^u	4	0	0	xx ^a	3	0	0
Erlham	-	-	xliij ^a	2	2	0	xiiij ^a iiij ^d	1	8	8
Hethill	-	-	l ^a	2	10	0	vj ^a viij ^d	2	3	4
Colneye	-	-	xxxiiij ^a	1	13	0	—	1	13	0
Lakenham	-	-	xxxiiij ^a	1	13	0	vj ^a viij ^d	1	6	4
Keteryngham	-	-	iiij ^u iiij ^a	4	4	0	xiiij ^a	3	10	0
Cringelford	-	-	xxx ^a	1	10	0	—	1	10	0
Swerdeston	-	-	lx ^a	3	0	0	x ^a	2	10	0
Wreningham & Nelond	-	-	iiij ^u	4	0	0	x ^a	3	10	0
Mulkeberton	-	-	lvj ^a	2	16	0	xvj ^a	2	0	0
Brakne	-	-	xxxv ^a	1	15	0	v ^a	1	10	0
Sweynstorp	-	-	xliz ^a	2	9	0	—	2	9	0
ffloredone	-	-	lv ^a	2	15	0	xv ^a	2	0	0
Intewode	-	-	xlvi ^a	2	5	0	v ^a	2	0	0
Brakendele ⁷	-	-	xx ^a	1	0	0	—	1	0	0
Keswike	-	-	xxxviij ^a	1	17	0	x ^a	1	7	0
Melton parva	-	-	xxxviij ^a	1	17	0	viiij ^a	1	9	0
Heigham	-	-	xlvi ^a	2	5	0	v ^a	2	0	0
Sm ^a lx ^u xij ^d			£60 1 0			ix ^u		£51 1 0		

DYSGOE.

ffrense	-	-	xxv ^a	1	5	0	—	1	5	0
ffersfeld	-	-	xxxiiij ^a	1	14	0	—	1	14	0
Dicleburgh	-	-	lxxviij ^a	3	16	0	—	3	16	0
Osmundeston	-	-	xxxviij ^a	1	17	0	vij ^a	1	10	0
Tiueteshale	-	-	lx ^a	3	0	0	x ^a	2	10	0
Parva Thorp	-	-	xxiiij ^a	1	4	0	iiij ^a	1	0	0

⁶ Humbleyard.⁷ Added in margin: "Unde Trowse in et de Civitate Norwici xij^a."

Assessment, 1834.				Deductions, c. 1449.	Reduced Assessment.		
			£. s. d.		£. s. d.		
Disce - -	- vij ^{li} viij ^s		7 8 0	xvj ^s		6 12 0	
Reidon - -	- l ^s		2 10 0	—		2 10 0	
Burston - -	- liij ^s		2 12 0	—		2 12 0	
Thelvetton - -	- xl ^s		2 0 0	—		2 0 0	
Wynferthyngg -	- xxxvj ^s		1 16 0	vj ^s		1 10 0	
Gyssyng - -	- lxviij ^s		3 8 0	xx ^s		2 8 0	
Brysingham - -	- lxxiiij ^s		3 14 0	—		3 14 0	
Helfangel - -	- xxvij ^s		1 7 0	—		1 7 0	
Shymplyng - -	- xxxv ^s		1 15 0	v ^s		1 10 0	
Sm ^a	xxxix ^{li} vj ^s		£39 6 0	lxviij ^s		£35 18 0	

ERSHAM.

Brokedish - -	- iiij ^{li}		4 0 0	xiiij ^s		3 6 0	
Reueshale ^o - -	- lxxvj ^s		3 16 0	viiij ^s		3 8 0	
Denton - -	- vj ^{li} x ^s		6 10 0	xl ^{s o}		4 10 0	
Redenhale - -	- xiiij ^{li}		13 0 0	xxvj ^s viiiij ^d		11 13 4	
Prilliston - -	- lviiij ^s		2 18 0	xij ^s		2 6 0	
Ersham - -	- ciij ^s		5 2 0	xiiij ^s		4 8 0	
Pulham - -	- xij ^{li} iiij ^s		12 4 0	xx ^s		11 4 0	
Thorp - -	- xliiiij ^s		2 4 0	viiij ^s		1 16 0	
Sterston - -	- iiij ^{li} xiiij ^s		4 13 0	xviiij ^s		3 15 0	
Altebergh - -	- c ^s		5 0 0	—		5 0 0	
Sm ^a	lix ^{li} vij ^s		£59 7 0	viiij ^{li} viiiij ^d		£51 6 4	

LAUNDICHE.

Rougham - -	- viij ^{li} v ^s		8 5 0	xl ^v		6 0 0	
Pateshale - -	- xxxij ^s		1 12 0	—		1 12 0	
Dunham magna -	- vij ^{li} xviiij ^s		7 18 0	xx ^s		6 18 0	
Mileham - -	- lxxvj ^s		3 16 0	xvj ^s		3 0 0	
Stenefeld - -	- lxx ^s		3 10 0	vj ^s viiiij ^d		3 3 4	
Gatele - -	- liij ^s iiij ^d		2 13 4	iiij ^s iiij ^d		2 10 0	
Godewike - -	- xxiiij ^s		1 4 0	vj ^s viiiij ^d		0 17 4	
Kemston - -	- liij ^s		2 12 0	xvj ^s viiiij ^d		1 15 4	
Oxwike - -	- xlvj ^s viiiij ^d		2 6 8	iiij ^s		2 2 8	
Brisele - -	- vj ^{li} iiij ^s		6 4 0	vj ^s viiiij ^d		5 17 4	

^o Rushall ?^o xl^s vel xxviij^s.

Assessment, 1834.				Deductions, c. 1449.	Reduced Assessment.
		£.	s. d.		£. s. d.
Wendlyng - -	xxxix ^a	1	19 0	vj ^a viij ^d	1 12 4
Wissingsette - -	lxij ^a	3	2 0	vj ^a	2 16 0
Swanton - -	xij ^u	12	0 0	v ^u	7 0 0
Hernyngtofte - -	liiij ^a	2	14 0	iiiij ^a	2 10 0
Wesensham - -	viiij ^u	8	0 0	xiiij ^a iiiij ^d	7 6 8
Skernyng - -	x ^u xiiij ^a	10	14 0	xxvj ^a viij ^d	9 7 4
Welyngham - -	xl ^a	2	0 0	vj ^a viij ^d	1 13 4
Luckham - -	lxvij ^a	3	7 0	xix ^a viij ^d	2 7 4
Westlexham - -	xxxiiiij ^a	1	14 0	viiij ^a	1 6 0
ffransham magna -	cx ^a	5	10 0	xj ^a	4 19 0
Dunham parva -	lxxvj ^a xj ^d	3	16 11	xx ^a	2 16 11
ffransham parva -	lxviiij ^a	3	8 0	iiiij ^a	3 4 0
Betele de libertate					
de North elmham -	lxxij ^a	3	12 0	—	3 12 0
Titeleshale - -	ciiiij ^a	5	4 0	xx ^a	4 4 0
Longham - -	lv ^a	2	15 0	xiiij ^a iiiij ^d	2 1 8
Colkyrke - -	xlvj ^a viij ^d	2	6 8	iiiij ^a	2 2 8
Gressinghale & Biddyingge magna	vj ^u	6	0 0	xxx ^a	4 10 0
Hoo - - -	vj ^u x ^a	6	10 0	—	6 10 0
Estbilney - -	liiij ^a	2	14 0	iiiij ^a	2 10 0
Estlexham - -	xliij ^a	2	2 0	vj ^a	1 16 0
Northelmham - -	vij ^u x ^a	7	10 0	xiiij ^a iiiij ^d	6 16 8
Beston & Bid- dyng parva - -	ix ^u	9	0 0	xxx ^a	7 10 0
Sm ^a cxlv ^u xix ^a vij ^d		£145	19 7	xxiiij ^u xj ^a viij ^d	£122 7 11

SHROPHAM.

Wyleby - - -	iiiij ^u	4	0 0	xiiij ^a iiiij ^d	3 6 8
Estwrotham - -	lv ^a	2	15 0	—	2 15 0
Kiluerston - -	l ^a	2	10 0	vj ^a viij ^d	2 3 4
Hocham - - -	iiiij ^u iiiij ^a	4	4 0	—	4 4 0
Besthorp - - -	lxxiiiij ^a	3	14 0	xx ^a	2 14 0
Bokenham vetus -	vj ^u xvj ^a	6	16 0	xxxiiiij ^a	5 3 0
Snytterton - -	cx ^a	5	10 0	xl ^a	3 10 0
Hargham - - -	xxxv ^a	1	15 0	v ^a	1 10 0
Eccles - - -	xxx ^a	1	10 0	—	1 10 0

Assessment, 1384.				Deductions, c. 1449.	Reduced Assessment.		
			£. s. d.		£. s. d.		
Brigham	-	-	iiij ^u		xiiij ^s	iiij ^d	3 6 8
Rokelond	-	-	iiij ^u x ^s		xiiij ^s	iiij ^d	3 16 8
Illington	-	-	liij ^s	—			2 13 0
West wrotham	-	-	lxxiiij ^s	—			3 4 0
Attelburgh	-	-	viiij ^u		xx ^s		7 0 0
Bretenham	-	-	lv ^s	—			2 16 0
Thefford	-	-	xvj ^u	—			16 0 0
Shropham	-	-	vij ^u xiiij ^s iiij ^d	—			7 13 4
Lirlinge	-	-	lxxiiij ^s		xiiij ^s	iiij ^d	2 10 8
Roudham	-	-	lxxiiij ^s		xx ^s		2 14 0
Newebokenham	-	-	vj ^u iiij ^s		xl ^s		4 3 0
Elingham magna	-	-	vj ^u iiij ^s		xlviij ^s		4 0 0
Sm ^a	c ^u	xiiij ^s	iiij ^d	£100	14	4	xiiij ^s ij ^s £86 12 4

FFOWRHOO.¹

Morleye	-	-	c ^s	5 0 0	xxx ^s		3 10 0
Carlton	-	-	liij ^s	2 12 0	iiij ^s		2 8 0
Eston	-	-	xlviij ^s	2 6 0	vj ^s		2 0 0
Widewode	-	-	lxxiiij ^s	3 14 0	iiij ^s		3 10 0
Bauburgh	-	-	xliij ^s	2 2 0	xij ^s		1 10 0
Corston & hamell'	-	-	xx ^s	1 0 0	vj ^s		0 14 0
Cotishey	-	-	lvij ^s	2 17 0	vij ^s		2 10 0
Wramplyngham	-	-	l ^s	2 10 0	vj ^s viiij ^d		2 3 4
Hengham	-	-	ix ^u	9 0 0	—		9 0 0
Depham	-	-	vij ^u	7 0 0	xl ^s		5 0 0
Honingham	-	-	c ^s	5 0 0	xl ^s		3 0 0
Bikerston	-	-	xviij ^s	0 18 0	viiij ^s ij ^d		0 9 10
Bernham	-	-	xl ^s	2 0 0	—		2 0 0
Bouthorp	-	-	xl ^s	2 0 0	iiij ^s iiij ^d		1 16 8
Marlyngford	-	-	xxxviiij ^s	1 18 0	—		1 18 0
Hakeford	-	-	xx ^s	1 0 0	vj ^s viiij ^d		0 13 4
Welborne	-	-	xxxviiij ^s	1 18 0	xx ^s		0 18 0
Brandon	-	-	xxxviij ^s	1 16 0	xviij ^s		1 0 0
Bersted	-	-	xlviij ^s	2 8 0	iiij ^s iiij ^d		2 4 8
Runhale	-	-	iiij ^u ij ^s	4 2 0	xxxiiij ^s		2 10 0
Grungelthorp	-	-	xxxj ^s	1 11 0	vj ^s viiij ^d		1 4 4

¹ Forehoe.

Assessment, 1384.			Deductions, c. 1449.	Reduced Assessment.		
		£. s. d.		£. s. d.		
Kimburle	- - iiij ^u iiij ^a	4 4 0	xij ^a		3 12 0	
Colton & Thorp	- iiij ^u vj ^a viij ^d	4 6 8	xl ^a		2 6 8	
Wymondham	- - xiiij ^u	13 0 0	—		13 0 0	
Sm ^a	iiij ^a xiiij ^u ij ^a viij ^d	£84 2 8	xv ^u iiij ^a x ^d		£68 18 10	

GYLD'.²

Garboldesham	- - viij ^u	8 0 0	xiiij ^a iiij ^d	7 6 8
Swanshill	- - xl ^a	2 0 0	xiiij ^a iiij ^d	1 6 8
Keninghale	- - lxx ^a	3 10 0	—	3 10 0
Estharlinge	- - vij ^u	7 0 0	xiiij ^a iiij ^d	6 6 8
Redlisworth	- - iiij ^u	4 0 0	xiiij ^a iiij ^d	3 6 8
Lopham	- - cxij ^a	5 12 0	—	5 12 0
Gastorp	- - l ^a	2 10 0	xij ^a	1 18 0
Westharlinge	- - lxx ^a	3 10 0	xij ^a	2 18 0
Blonorton	- - l ^a	2 10 0	—	2 10 0
Rushworth	- - iiij ^u	4 0 0	xiiij ^a iiij ^d	3 6 8
Qwydenham	- - iiij ^u	4 0 0	xx ^a	3 0 0
Banham	- - iiij ^u	4 0 0	—	4 0 0
Middilharlyngg	- - xl ^a	2 0 0	iiij ^a viij ^d	1 15 4
Sm ^a	lij ^u xij ^a	£52 12 0	cxv ^a iiij ^d	£46 16 8

CIUITAS NORWICI.

Leta de Wymer	} Sm ^a iiij ^a xx ^u xij ^a	}	£9 18 0 [‡]	£84 13 11 [‡]
Leta de Mancroft				
Leta ultra Aquam				
Leta de Conisford				
feodum Castri	- xxxiiij ^a iiij ^d	1 13 4		
Spitelond	- - xx ^a	1 0 0		
Holmestrete	- - xxvj ^a viij ^d	1 6 8		
Sm ^a Ciuitatis Norwici				
iiij ^a xiiij ^u xij ^a	£94 12 0			
preter Trous, xij ^a ³	0 12 0			

² Guiltcross.³ Included in Bracondale, in the hundred of Humbleyard.

Assessment, 1384.		Deductions, c. 1449.	Reduced Assessment.
MAGNA JERNEMUTHA. ⁴			
Northleta	} o ^{li}	£100 0 0	
Northmiddilleta			
Suthleta			
Suthmiddilleta			
Sm ^a patet.			

GALH'. ⁵		£. s. d.		£. s. d.
Suthcreyke	- - xj ^{li} xij ^a	11 12 0	xxvj ^a viij ^d	10 5 4
Brunham Sutton	- iiij ^{li}	4 0 0	xiiij ^a iiij ^d	3 6 8
Taterete	- - vj ^{li} x ^a	6 10 0	xx ^a ⁶	5 10 0
Est baraham	- - lxij ^a	3 2 0	xxv ^a iiij ^d	1 16 8
Riburgh parva	- lv ^a	2 15 0	v ^a	2 10 0
Waterdene	- - lxiij ^a	3 4 0	xx ^a	2 4 0
Pensthorp	- - xxx ^a	1 10 0	—	1 10 0
Northoreyke	- - ix ^{li} x ^a	9 10 0	xxx ^a	8 0 0
Althorp	- - - xx ^a	1 0 0	—	1 0 0
fulmodeston Croxton	iiij ^{li}	4 0 0	xl ^a	2 0 0
Westbarsham	- - cxiij ^a	5 14 0	xx ^a	4 14 0
Snoryng parva	- lxxij ^a	3 12 0	xvj ^a	2 16 0
Brunham thorp	- lxx ^a	3 10 0	xx ^a	2 10 0
Northbarsham	- ciij ^a	5 4 0	xxiiij ^a	4 0 0
Stibde	- - - l ^a	2 10 0	—	2 10 0
flakenedame	- - ix ^{li} ij ^a	9 2 0	xxij ^a	8 0 0
Kettilstone & Clifton	lxv ^a	3 5 0	x ^a	2 15 0
Skulthorp	- - iiij ^{li} vij ^a	4 7 0	vij ^a	4 0 0
Sm ^a iiij ^a xiij ^{li} vij ^a		£84 7 0	xiiij ^{li} xix ^a iiij ^d	£69 7 8

HOLT.

Waborne	- - xxxij ^a	1 12 0	—	1 12 0
Egefeld	- - - xl ^a	2 0 0	—	2 0 0
Gunthorp	- - lij ^a	2 12 0	vj ^a	2 6 0
Brynynggham	- - lxx ^a	3 10 0	xiiij ^a iiij ^d	2 16 8
Bodham	- - xliij ^a	2 4 0	xiiij ^a	1 10 0

⁴ For deduction of Yarmouth, see above, p. 260.⁵ Gallow.⁶ xvij^a vel xx^a.

Assessment, 1334.				Deductions, c. 1449.	Reduced Assessment.
		£.	s. d.		£. s. d.
Holt - - -	ciiij ^a	5	4 0	vj ^a viij ^d	4 17 4
Brynton - - -	xxv ^a	1	15 0	—	1 15 0
Hensted - - -	lx ^a	3	0 0	xx ^a	2 0 0
Merston - - -	ciiij ^a	5	4 0	x ^a	4 14 0
Thornnege - - -	xlvj ^a	2	6 0	x ^a	1 16 0
Burgh - - -	xxxiiij ^a	1	13 0	iiij ^a iiij ^d	1 9 8
Saxlingham - - -	iiij ^u	4	0 0	xxv ^a iiij ^d	2 14 8
Stodehey cum Hun-					
worth - - -	iiij ^u xij ^a	4	12 0	xx ^a	3 12 0
Birston - - -	cxiiij ^a iiij ^d	5	13 4	xxvj ^a viij ^d	4 6 8
Swanton - - -	xxxij ^a	1	12 0	ij ^a	1 10 0
Sharington - - -	lxxv ^a	3	15 0	xv ^a	3 0 0
Bathele - - -	liij ^a	2	12 0	vj ^a viij ^d	2 5 4
Melton - - -	xliij ^a	2	3 0	x ^a	1 13 0
Kellinge - - -	xlviij ^a	2	8 0	xij ^a	1 16 0
Langham - - -	lxxvj ^a	3	16 0	xxiiij ^a	2 12 0
Lerinsete - - -	lxxij ^a	3	12 0	xij ^a	3 0 0
Snyterle ⁷ - - -	xij ^u	12	0 0	v ^u	7 0 0
Salthous - - -	vij ^u	7	0 0	xxvviij ^a viij ^d	5 1 4
Glanford - - -	xl ^a	2	0 0	x ^a	1 10 0
Bayfeld - - -	xl ^a	2	0 0	xiiij ^a iiij ^d	1 6 8
Cleye - - -	x ^u	10	0 0	—	10 0 0
Wyueton - - -	xiij ^u	13	0 0	vij ^u	6 0 0
Sm ^a oxj ^u iiij ^a iiij ^d		£111	3 4	xxvj ^u xix ^a	£84 4 4

NORTHGR.⁸

Houghton - - -	xlvj ^a	2	6 0	—	2 6 0
Binham - - -	iiij ^u xviiij ^a	4	18 0	xxvj ^a viij ^d	3 11 4
Eggemere cum					
Quarlis - - -	- vj ^u xiiij ^a iiij ^d	6	13 4	liij ^a iiij ^d	4 0 0
Wighton - - -	ix ^u ix ^a iiij ^d	9	9 4	xx ^a	8 9 4
Berneye - - -	xluiij ^a	2	4 0	iiij ^a	2 0 0
Warham - - -	viiij ^u	8	0 0	xiiij ^a iiij ^d	7 6 8
Walsingham magna	viiij ^u	8	0 0	xx ^a	7 0 0
Thirsford - - -	xlviij ^a iiij ^d	2	7 4	xv ^a iiij ^d	1 12 0
Stiuekeye - - -	viiij ^u	8	0 0	xx ^a	7 0 0

⁷ Blakeney.⁸ North Greenhoe.

Assessment, 1834.				Deductions, c. 1449.	Reduced Assessment.		
		£.	s. d.		£.	s. d.	
Snoryng magna	-	c ^a	5 0 0	xiiij ^a iiiij ^d	4	6	8
Dallyng	-	-	vij ^{li} vij ^a	xiiij ^a iiiij ^d	5	13	8
Wellis	-	-	viiij ^{li} vij ^a	xx ^a	7	7	0
Holkham	-	-	ix ^{li} x ^a	xxx ^a	8	0	0
Hindringham	-	-	vij ^{li}	xxvj ^a viiij ^d	5	13	4
Walsingham parva	-	-	vij ^{li} xiiij ^a	xiiij ^a iiiij ^d	6	0	8
Sm ^a iiiij ^a xiiij ^{li} xvj ^a				£94 16 0	xiiij ^{li} ix ^a iiiij ^d	£80	6 8

EYNESFORD.

ffoxlee	-	-	lxxv ^a viiij ^d	3 15 8	xx ^a	2 15 8
Themelthorp	-	-	xxviiij ^a ij ^d	1 8 2	v ^a ij ^d	1 3 0
Alderford	-	-	xxxv ^a viiij ^d	1 15 8	—	1 15 8
Kerdeston	-	-	vij ^{li}	7 0 0	xxxvj ^a viiij ^d	5 3 4
ffolsham	-	-	ix ^{li} ij ^a	9 2 0	xliij ^a	7 0 0
Qwitewell	-	-	iiiij ^{li} x ^a vj ^d	4 10 6	xij ^a	3 18 6
Baldeswell	-	-	lxxvj ^a	3 16 0	xij ^a	3 4 0
Elsyng	-	-	lxxix ^a iiiij ^d	3 19 4	xviiij ^a iiiij ^d	3 1 0
Ryngelond & Helm-						
yngham	-	-	lxxv ^a viiij ^d	3 15 8	v ^a viiij ^d	3 10 0
Weston	-	-	iiiij ^{li} xiiij ^a ij ^d	4 14 2	xvj ^a	3 18 2
Brandeston	-	-	lxxj ^a	3 11 0	—	3 11 0
Lyng	-	-	lxvj ^a	3 6 0	vj ^a	3 0 0
Swenyngton	-	-	iiiij ^{li} ij ^a ij ^d	4 2 2	xxx ^a	2 12 2
Belagh	-	-	iiiij ^{li} iiiij ^a	4 4 0	xxiiiij ^a	3 0 0
Thirning	-	-	c ^a	5 0 0	xl ^a	3 0 0
Geysthweyt	-	-	iiiij ^{li} v ^a	4 5 0	xxvj ^a viiij ^d	2 18 4
Salle	-	-	vij ^{li}	7 0 0	—	7 0 0
Hakeford	-	-	xlviij ^a iij ^d	2 7 3	x ^a	1 17 3
Wodenorton	-	-	liij ^a x ^d	2 13 10	iiiij ^a ij ^d	2 9 8
Heueringlond	-	-	lxxix ^a	3 19 0	xxiiiij ^a	2 15 0
Dallyng	-	-	viiij ^{li} xiiij ^d	8 1 2	xxx ^a ij ^d	6 11 0
Geyst	-	-	iiiij ^{li} v ^a	4 5 0	xxix ^a ij ^d	2 15 10
Byntre	-	-	vij ^{li} xiiij ^a iiiij ^d	7 14 4	lx ^a	4 14 4
Billyngford	-	-	cij ^a vj ^d	5 2 6	xvj ^a	4 6 6
Wichyngham	-	-	vij ^{li} xvj ^a	7 16 0	xvj ^a	7 0 0
Sparham	-	-	vij ^{li} v ^a	7 5 0	xl ^a	5 0 0

	Assessment, 1334.			Deductions, c. 1449.	Reduced Assessment.		
	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Wychingham							
sancte fdis -	lv ^a	x ^d	2 15 10	vj ^a	2	9	10
Hundelston -	- xxxviiij ^a	iiij ^d	1 18 4	—	1	18	4
Sm ^a	cxix ⁱⁱ	iiij ^a	vij ^d	£129 3 7	xxvj ⁱⁱ	xv ^a	£102 8 7

NORTHERP'.^a

Ailmerton -	-	liij ^a	2 13 0	iiij ^a	2	10	0
Gresham -	-	xl ^a	2 0 0	—	2	0	0
Thorp Market -	-	iiij ⁱⁱ j ^d	4 0 1	—	4	0	1
Metton -	-	xxviiij ^a	1 8 0	—	1	8	0
felbrigge -	-	xl ^a	2 0 0	—	2	0	0
Northwod barningham		xliiiij ^a	2 4 0	vj ^a viiiij ^d	1	17	4
Bughton -	-	lxvj ^a viiiij ^d	3 6 8	vj ^a viiiij ^d	3	0	0
Plumstede -	-	xliij ^a	2 2 0	vj ^a	1	16	0
Runton -	-	lxvj ^a ij ^d	3 6 2	x ^a	2	16	2
Gyvingham -	-	iiij ⁱⁱ ij ^a	4 2 0	xij ^a	3	10	0
Sydestronde -	-	iiij ⁱⁱ	4 0 0	xx ^a	3	0	0
Moneslee -	-	lv ^a	2 15 0	xv ^a	2	0	0
Northreppes -	-	vij ⁱⁱ iiiij ^a ij ^d	7 4 2	xxiiiij ^a ij ^d	6	0	0
Basyngham		xxxviiij ^a viiiij ^d	1 18 8	—	1	18	8
Matelaske -	-	xxx ^a	1 10 0	—	1	10	0
Ouerstronde -	-	lv ^a viiiij ^d	2 15 8	xv ^a iiiij ^d	2	0	4
Southfelde -	-	cij ^a	5 2 0	xij ^a	4	10	0
Hanworth -	-	lxxiiij ^a iiiij ^d	3 13 4	—	3	13	4
Shipedene -	-	lviiij ^a	2 18 0	—	2	18	0
Tunbarningham	-	liiiij ^a	2 14 0	xiiij ^a iiiij ^d	2	0	8
Thurgarton -	-	xlviij ^a viiiij ^d	2 8 8	—	2	8	8
Southestede -	-	xxxvj ^a	1 16 0	—	1	16	0
Beston -	-	l ^a	2 10 0	x ^a	2	0	0
Knapton -	-	- vij ⁱⁱ xvij ^a v ^d	7 17 5	xvj ^a	7	1	5
Shiringham -	-	- lxxiiiij ^a	3 14 0	—	3	14	0
Estbecham -	-	xl ^a	2 0 0	—	2	0	0
Trunch -	-	iiij ⁱⁱ x ^a	4 10 0	xv ^a	3	15	0
Aldeburgh -	-	lvj ^a	2 16 0	x ^a	2	6	0
Suthreppes -	-	- vj ⁱⁱ xiiij ^a iiiij ^d	6 13 4	xx ^a	5	13	4
Trymyngham -	-	iiij ⁱⁱ iiiij ^a	4 4 0	xvj ^a	3	8	0
Gunton -	-	xl ^a vj ^d	2 0 6	—	2	0	6
Antingham -	-	liiiij ^a	2 14 0	iiiij ^a	2	10	0
Sm ^a	ciiiij ⁱⁱ	xvj ^a	viij ^d	£104 16 8	xj ⁱⁱ	xv ^a ij ^d	£93 1 6

^a North Erpingham.

SUTHERP. ¹			Assessment, 1834.			Deductions, c. 1449.			Reduced Assessment.		
			£.	s.	d.				£.	s.	d.
Marsham	-	-	iiij ^u	4	0	0	xiiij ^s iiij ^d		3	6	8
Tuttington	-	-	lx ^s	3	0	0	x ^s		2	10	0
Saxthorp	-	-	lxx ^s	3	10	0	xiiij ^s iiij ^d		2	16	8
Berningham parva	-	-	xxxv ^s	1	15	0	—		1	15	0
Hevingham	-	-	iiij ^u viij ^s	4	8	0	xvj ^s		3	12	0
Thweyt	-	-	xliij ^s	2	3	0	x ^s		1	13	0
Skegeton	-	-	lxxvj ^s	3	16	0	x ^s		3	6	0
Stratton	-	-	l ^s	2	10	0	x ^s		2	0	0
Aylisham	-	-	xiiij ^u x ^s	13	10	0	xl ^s		11	10	0
Bliklyng	-	-	iiij ^u x ^s	4	10	0	—		4	10	0
Westbecham	-	-	xxiiij ^s	1	3	0	—		1	3	0
Boton	-	-	liij ^s	2	12	0	iiij ^s		2	8	0
Colby	-	-	lv ^s viij ^d	2	15	8	—		2	15	8
Hautboys Parva	-	-	xx ^s	1	0	0	—		1	0	0
Oulton	-	-	iiij ^u x ^s	4	10	0	xxxv ^s		2	15	0
Irmynglond	-	-	liij ^s	2	12	0	xx ^s		1	12	0
Swanton	-	-	xxxv ^s	1	15	0	—		1	15	0
Hautboys Magna	-	-	xxxiiij ^s	1	14	0	iiij ^s		1	10	0
Couteshale	-	-	lviiij ^s	2	18	0	—		2	18	0
Heydon	-	-	iiij ^u iiij ^s	4	3	0	xxx ^s		2	13	0
Wolterton	-	-	xxvj ^s	1	6	0	vij ^s		1	0	0
Iteringham	-	-	xlviij ^s	2	7	0	viiij ^s		1	19	0
Erpingham	-	-	iiij ^u x ^s	4	10	0	xxx ^s		3	0	0
Belaghe	-	-	lviiij ^s	2	18	0	viiij ^s		2	10	0
Scoteshowe	-	-	viiij ^u xiiij ^s iiij ^d	8	13	4	xx ^s		7	13	4
Calthorp	-	-	l ^s	2	10	0	x ^s		2	0	0
Corpsty	-	-	xxxix ^s	1	19	0	xiiij ^s iiij ^d		1	5	8
Banynggham	-	-	lxx ^s	3	10	0	x ^s		3	0	0
Wykemere	-	-	xlviij ^s	2	6	0	—		2	6	0
Alby	-	-	l ^s iiij ^d	2	10	4	xl ^d		2	7	0
Baconsthorp	-	-	lvij ^s	2	16	0	xvj ^s		2	0	0
Ingworth	-	-	xxvj ^s	1	6	0	—		1	6	0
Lammesse	-	-	xlviij ^s	2	6	0	xvj ^s		1	10	0
Bramton	-	-	lxiij ^s	3	2	0	xxiiij ^s		1	18	0
Causton	-	-	xij ^u	12	0	0	xl ^s		10	0	0
Buxton	-	-	cvij ^s viij ^d	5	6	8	xxviij ^s		3	18	8
Manyngton	-	-	xxvj ^s	1	6	0	ix ^s iiij ^d		0	16	8

¹ South Erpingham.

Assessment, 1334.				Deductions, c. 1449.	Reduced Assessment.		
					£.	s.	d.
Burgh	-	-	lij ^a	2 12 0	xij ^a	2	0 0
Oxenedes-	-	-	xxviiij ^a	1 8 0	—	1	8 0
Sm ^a cxxxij ⁱⁱ xvij ^a				£132 17 0	xxiiij ⁱⁱ ix ^a viij ^d	£109	7 4

TUNSTEDE.

Wigton	-	-	lxx ^a viij ^d	3 10 8	x ^a viij ^d	3	0 0
Dilham	-	-	cxv ^a v ^d	5 15 5	xxvj ^a viij ^d	4	8 9
Westwike	-	-	lvj ^a ix ^d	2 16 9	—	2	16 9
Sloleye	-	-	c ^a	5 0 0	xiiij ^a iiiij ^d	4	6 8
Beston	-	-	xxxv ^a	1 15 0	xx ^a	0	15 0
Honynges	-	-	c ^a	5 0 0	xx ^a	4	0 0
Bradefeld	-	-	lxxiiiij ^a	3 14 0	—	3	14 0
Tunsted	-	-	vj ⁱⁱ xvij ^a	6 18 0	xviiij ^a	6	0 0
Smalebergh	-	-	c ^a	5 0 0	xiiij ^a iiiij ^d	4	6 8
Berton	-	-	iiiij ⁱⁱ v ^a vj ^d	4 5 6	xxvj ^a viij ^d	2	18 10
North Walsham	-	-	xv ⁱⁱ	15 0 0	iiiij ⁱⁱ	11	0 0
Swafeld	-	-	lij ^a vj ^d	2 12 6	viij ^a iiiij ^d	2	4 2
Edyenesethorp	-	-	xlviij ^a	2 7 0	vij ^a	2	0 0
Ayshmanhagh	-	-	xxiiiij ^a	1 4 0	iiiij ^a	1	0 0
ffelmingham	-	-	viiij ⁱⁱ	8 0 0	xxvj ^a viij ^d	6	13 4
Ridlington	-	-	lxx ^a	3 10 0	x ^a	3	0 0
Worsted	-	-	xiiiij ⁱⁱ x ^a j ^d ob q ^a	14 10 1½	xxxix ^a xj ^d ob	12	10 2½
Croftweyte	-	-	l ^a	2 10 0	xx ^a	1	10 0
Baketon, Brom- holm, & Cus- wyke	-	-	viiij ⁱⁱ xvij ^a viij ^d	8 17 8	xxxviij ^a viij ^d	7	0 0
Hirstede	-	-	xlviij ^a ij ^d	2 8 2	vj ^a viij ^d	2	1 6
Paston	-	-	cxix ^a	5 19 0	xix ^a	5	0 0
Howton Sci Johannis	-	-	lxvj ^a viij ^d	3 6 8	xxvj ^a viij ^d	2	0 0
Houton Sci Petri	-	-	l ^a v ^d	2 10 5	xx ^a	1	10 5
Horningge	-	-	lij ^a	2 12 0	xv ^a iiiij ^d	1	16 8
Netished	-	-	cxiiij ^a viij ^d	5 13 8	xxxiiij ^a iiiij ^d	4	0 4
Sm ^a cxxiiiij ⁱⁱ xvj ^a vj ^d ob q ^a				£124 16 6½	xxv ⁱⁱ iiij ^a iiij ^d ob	£99	13 3½

CLAKCLOSE.

Thorp	-	-	lvj ^a	2 16 0	vj ^a viij ^d	2	9 4
ffoston	-	-	xxx ^a	1 10 0	vj ^a viij ^d	1	3 4
ffyncham	-	-	xiiiij ⁱⁱ	14 0 0	lxvj ^a viij ^d	10	13 4

Assessment, 1384.				Deductions, c. 1449.	Reduced Assessment.
		£.	s. d.		
Suthreye - - -	c ^a	5	0 0	vj ^a viij ^d	4 13 4
Denever - - -	vij ^u iiij ^a	7	4 0	xxx ^a	5 14 0
Wyrham - - -	cxvj ^a	5	16 0	xxx ^a	4 6 0
Crempelsham - -	cxiiij ^a	5	14 0	xxvj ^a viij ^d	4 7 4
Marham - - -	x ^u x ^a	10	10 0	xl ^a	8 10 0
Dunham hith - -	vj ^u xiiij ^a	6	14 0	xx ^a	5 14 0
Walington Thorplond	xxxiiij ^a	1	13 0	vj ^a viij ^d	1 6 4
Buketon - - -	iiij ^u x ^a	4	10 0	xiiij ^a iiij ^d	3 16 8
Helegey - - -	viiij ^u	8	0 0	xiiij ^a iiij ^d	7 6 8
Shuldham - - -	viiij ^u x ^a	8	10 0	xl ^a	6 10 0
Wynbodisham & Stowe	vij ^u xij ^d	7	1 0	xxj ^a	6 0 0
Westderham - -	x ^u	10	0 0	xxvj ^a viij ^d	8 13 4
Waterwell ² - -	xiiij ^u	13	0 0	xx ^a	12 0 0
Berton Benedich -	x ^u vij ^a	10	7 0	xx ^a	9 7 0
ffordham - - -	viiij ^u	8	0 0	xxvj ^a viij ^d	6 13 4
Roungeton Holm -	vij ^u iiij ^a	7	4 0	xxx ^a	5 14 0
Stradesete - -	c ^a	5	0 0	xx ^a	4 0 0
Stoke ferie cum Wreton	cxj ^a	5	11 0	xj ^a	5 0 0
Bekiswell cum Riston	vij ^u	7	0 0	xx ^a	6 0 0
Bicham Well - -	x ^u	10	0 0	xviiij ^a	9 2 0
Watlington - -	x ^u xiiij ^a	10	14 0	xx ^a	9 14 0
Wormegeye - -	iiij ^u xij ^a	4	12 0	xxvj ^a viij ^d	3 5 4
Sm ^a ciiij ^a x ^u vj ^a		£180	6 0	xxviiij ^u vj ^a viij ^d	£151 19 4

SOUTHGREN'.³

Neuton cum South-					
acre - - -	lxxij ^a	3	12 0	xij ^a	3 0 0
Neketon & Sparham	viiij ^u xviiij ^a	8	18 0	xl ^a	6 18 0
Sporle - - -	xij ^u x ^a x ^d	12	10 10	l ^a x ^d	10 0 0
Cleyiuxta Swafham	viiij ^u	8	0 0	xx ^a	7 0 0
Cressingham Magna	iiij ^u x ^a	4	10 0	—	4 10 0
Dodlington - -	cvij ^a	5	7 0	xij ^a	4 15 0
Estbradenham -	vij ^u	7	0 0	xxvj ^a viij ^d	5 13 4
Howton - - -	lxxiiij ^a	3	13 0	xix ^a	2 14 0
Oxeburgh - -	viiij ^u	8	0 0	lx ^a	5 0 0

² This seems to be Upwell and Outwell combined.³ South Greenhoe.

Assessment, 1334.				Deductions, c. 1449.	Reduced Assessment.		
		£.	s. d.		£.	s. d.	
Nerford - - -	lxxij ^a	3	12 0	xij ^a	3	0 0	
North Pikenham -	iiij ^u	4	0 0	x ^a	3	10 0	
Hilderburghworth -	lxxvj ^a	3	16 0	x ^a viij ^d	3	5 4	
Haleholme - -	vij ^u viij ^a	7	8 0	xxvj ^a viij ^d	6	1 4	
Westbradenham -	lxvj ^a	3	6 0	x ^a	2	16 0	
Bodeneye - -	cvij ^a	5	8 0	xvij ^a x ^d	4	9 2	
Goderiston - -	vj ^u xvj ^a ij ^d	6	16 2	xxiiij ^a ij ^d	5	12 0	
Langeford - -	xxxvij ^a	1	18 0	vij ^a	1	10 0	
Cressingham parva -	cx ^a	5	10 0	x ^a	5	0 0	
fouldon - -	vij ^u xix ^a	8	19 0	xl ^v	6	14 0	
Swafham - -	xx ^u	20	0 0	vij ^u	12	0 0	
Southpikenham -	lxx ^a	3	10 0	xiiij ^a iiiij ^d	2	16 8	
Narburgh - -	vj ^u	6	0 0	xxvj ^a viij ^d	4	13 4	
Sm ^a cxlj ^u xiiij ^a		£141	14 0	xxx ^u xv ^a x ^d	£110	18 2	

WAYLOND.

Tomeston - -	-vj ^u xiiij ^a iiiij ^d	6	14 4	vj ^a viij ^d	6	7 8	
Griston - -	-vj ^u xix ^a iiij ^d	6	19 3	xix ^a iiiij ^d	5	19 11	
Ayshlee - -	-vij ^u xij ^d	8	1 0	xx ^a	7	1 0	
Caston - -	-vj ^u	6	0 0	xiiij ^a iiiij ^d	5	6 8	
Elingham - -	iiij ^u xvj ^a viij ^d	4	16 8	iiij ^a	4	12 8	
Watton - -	-vj ^u x ^a	6	10 0	vj ^a viij ^d	6	3 4	
Breccelis - -	iiij ^u iiiij ^a viij ^d	4	4 8	xij ^a	3	12 8	
Merton - -	-iiij ^u x ^a vj ^d	4	10 6	xx ^a	3	10 6	
Kerebroke - -	-vj ^u xij ^a vj ^d	6	12 7	vj ^a viij ^d	6	5 11	
Totington - -	-vj ^u vij ^a vj ^d	6	7 6	xx ^a	5	7 6	
Skulton - -	-lxx ^a	3	10 0	x ^a	3	0 0	
Threkiston - -	-lx ^a	3	0 0	vj ^a viij ^d	2	13 4	
Ouiton ⁴ - -	-iiij ^u x ^a	4	10 0	xx ^a	3	10 0	
Saham - -	-x ^u vij ^a iiiij ^d	10	7 4	xxvij ^a iiiij ^d	9	0 0	
Stowebidon - -	-lxvij ^a	3	7 0	vj ^a viij ^d	3	0 4	
Sm ^a iiij ^u xv ^u x ^a x ^d		£85	10 10	ix ^u xix ^a iiiij ^d	£75	11 6	

⁴ Ovington.

The total Assessment of 1334 as stated in the above list (which appears to be correct in all its details, the various items and totals in all cases corresponding with each other) is £3486. 14s. 6*d.* The total Deduction in 1449 is £543. 14s. 4½*d.* All the above figures have been verified by collation with numerous Subsidy Rolls in the Public Record Office, none of which are apparently free from mistakes in the copying of the figures. The last column shewing the Assessment as resulting from the deductions, is made up from the others. The reduced Assessment amounts to £2843. 2s. 1½*d.* This takes no account of the £100 due from Yarmouth, which seems to have been regarded as non-existent.

The total of the county is not given in the copy in the Book of Pleas, or in the fragments of the contemporary Subsidy Roll in London. And it varies in some of the Rolls where it is entered. In the Roll ¹⁴⁹/₃₁ (22 Edw. III.) it is entered thus:—Fifteenth, £3189. 12s. 7*d.*; Tenth, £296. 4s. 0*d.*; Total, £3485. 16s. 7*d.* In the document of 8 Henry VI., quoted below in Appendix D, the Commissioners for the county charge themselves with £3392. 12s. 6*d.*, and those for the city of Norwich with £94. 12s. 0*d.*, making together a total of £3487. 4s. 6*d.* I am unable to explain these discrepancies. It seems as though the totals of the hundreds rather than the sum total of the county were dealt with by the officials at the Exchequer.

The following account of the assessment of the city of Norwich is appended to the above list in the Book of Pleas:—

Ciuitas Norwici Anno vj ^{to} Edwardi tertii.				£.	s.	d.
Leta de Wymere	-	-	xxv ⁱⁱ vj ^d	25	0	6
Leta de Mancrofte	-	-	xxxiiij ⁱⁱ xj ^s vj ^d	33	11	6
Leta ultra Aquam	-	-	xj ⁱⁱ xiiij ^s	11	13	0

				<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Leta Consford	-	-	-	ix ^{li}	vij ^s	9 7 0
ffeodum Castri	-	-	-	xxvij ^s	iiij ^d	1 8 4
Spitelond	-	-	-	xvij ^s	viiij ^d ob.	0 17 8½
Holmestrete	-	-	-	xx ^s	v ^d ob.	1 0 5½
Sm ^a x ^o Ciuitatis Norwici				iiij ^{xx} iiij ^{li}	xvij ^s vj ^d ob. ⁵	£82 18 6

Anno viij^o Edwardi tertii sic tax'.

				<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Leta de Wymer	-	-	-	S ^a	iiij ^{xx} x ^{li}	xij ^s
Leta de Mancrofte	-	-	-			
Leta ultra Aquam	-	-	-			
Leta Consford	-	-	-			
ffeodum Castri	-	-	-	xxxiiij ^s	iiij ^d	1 13 4
Spitelond	-	-	-	xx ^s		1 0 0
Holmestrete	-	-	-	xxvj ^s	viiij ^d	1 6 8
Sm ^a totalis istius Ciuitatis				iiij ^{xx} xiiij ^{li}	xij ^s	£94 12 0

Anno xj^o H. iiij^u.

Omnis Collectio x ^o Ciuitatis Norwici in una summa	iiij ^{xx} xiiij ^{li}	xij ^s
Tempore H. quinti.	-	-
Omnis Collectio x ^o Ciuitatis Norwici, iiij ^{xx} xiiij ^{li}	xij ^s	sic
Et de xij ^s receptis in Trous in suburbiis Ciuitatis		
predicte, qui quidem xij ^s sunt parcella de xx ^s		
ad quos villa de Brakendele in hundredo de		
Humyll ^l taxatur.		
Anno xiiij ^o H. vj ^u .		

	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Omnis Collectio Ciuitatis predictae, iiij ^{xx} iiij ^{li}	84	13	11½
ultra ix ^{li} xviiij ^s ob. q ^a in deductionibus	9	18	0½
	£94	12	0
Anno xv ^o .	-	-	sic
Anno xviiij ^o .	-	-	sic
Anno xx ^o .	-	-	sic
Anno xxiiij ^o .	-	-	sic
Anno xxiiij ^o sic et decetero modo consimili preter quod fuerunt et			
sunt plur' in deduct' per parliamentum.			

⁵ There is a mistake somewhere in this statement.

APPENDIX A.

General Summary.

			Assessment of of 1334.			Deductions after 1449.			Reduced Assessment.		
			£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1.	East Flegg -	-	53	7	4	4	18	0	48	9	4
2.	West Flegg	-	69	0	4	8	14	4	60	6	0
3.	Happyng -	-	95	6	4	18	6	4	77	0	0
4.	Taverham -	-	45	15	2	4	0	8	41	14	6
5.	Blofield -	-	52	9	8	7	19	8	44	10	0
6.	Walsham -	-	50	11	11	5	6	7	45	5	4
7.	Loddon -	-	72	13	2	15	6	8	57	6	6
8.	Clavering -	-	76	12	9	13	18	6	62	14	3
9.	Depwade -	-	76	11	7	10	17	8	65	13	11
10.	Henstead -	-	65	19	10	9	10	8	56	9	2
11.	Freebridge -	-	446	12	0	62	5	8	384	6	4
12.	Smithdon -	-	172	12	0	31	17	8	140	14	4
13.	Brothercross	-	108	9	4	22	10	8	85	18	8
14.	Grimshoe -	-	90	15	6½	14	3	1½	76	12	4
15.	Mitford -	-	83	12	0	12	4	0	71	8	0
16.	Humbleyard	-	60	1	0	9	0	0	51	1	0
17.	Diss -	-	39	6	0	3	8	0	35	18	0
18.	Earsham -	-	59	7	0	8	0	8	51	6	4
19.	Launditch -	-	145	19	7	23	11	8	122	7	11
20.	Shropham -	-	100	14	4	14	2	0	86	12	4
21.	Forehoe -	-	84	2	8	15	3	10	68	18	10
22.	Guiltecross -	-	52	12	0	5	15	4	46	16	8
23.	Gallow -	-	84	7	0	14	19	4	69	7	8
24.	Holt -	-	111	3	4	26	19	0	84	4	4
25.	North Greenhoe -	-	94	16	0	14	9	4	80	6	8
26.	Eynesford -	-	129	3	7	26	15	0	102	8	7
27.	North Erpingham	-	104	16	8	11	15	2	93	1	6
28.	South Erpingham	-	132	17	0	23	9	8	109	7	4

		Assessment of 1834.			Deductions after 1449.			Reduced Assessment.			
		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	
29.	Tunstead-	-	124	16	6½	25	3	3½	99	13	3½
30.	Clackclose	-	180	6	0	28	6	8	151	19	4
31.	South Greenhoe		141	14	0	30	15	10	110	18	2
32.	Wayland	-	85	10	10	9	19	4	75	11	6
			£3292	2	6	£533	14	4	£2758	8	2
	Norwich -	-	94	12	0	9	18	0½	84	13	11½
	Yarmouth	-	100	0	0						
			£3486	14	6	£543 ^a	12	4½	£2843	2	1½

APPENDIX B.

The Hundreds arranged according to the average
Assessment of their Townships.

Hundred.						No. of Townships.	Average per Township.			
				£.	s.	d.				
1.	Freebridge	(without								
	Lynn)	-	-	378	12	0	32	11	17	3
2.	Smithdon	-	-	172	12	0	21	8	4	4
3.	Clackclose	-	-	180	6	0	25	7	4	2
4.	South Greenhoe		-	141	14	0	22	6	8	9
5.	North Greenhoe		-	94	16	0	15	6	6	4
6.	Earsham	-	-	59	7	0	10	5	18	8
7.	East Flegg	(without								
	Yarmouth)	-	-	53	7	4	9	5	18	7
8.	Wayland	-	-	85	10	10	15	5	14	0
9.	Grimshoe	-	-	90	15	6½	16	5	13	5
10.	Happing	-	-	95	6	4	17	5	11	9
11.	Tunstead	-	-	124	16	6½	25	4	19	10
12.	Brothercross	-	-	108	9	4	22	4	18	7

^a To this must be added £100 for the exemption of Great Yarmouth by special writ or letters patent.

Hundred				No. of Townships.			Average per Township		
			£. s. d.				£. s. d.		
13.	Mitford	-	-	83	12	0	17	4	18
14.	Shropham	-	-	100	14	4	21	4	15
15.	Gallow	-	-	84	7	0	18	4	13
16.	West Flegg	-	-	69	0	4	14	4	13
17.	Launditch	-	-	145	19	7	32	4	12
18.	Eynsford	-	-	129	3	7	28	4	12
19.	Holt	-	-	111	3	4	27	4	2
20.	Guilthcross	-	-	52	12	0	13	4	1
21.	Clavering	-	-	76	12	9	19	4	0
22.	Depwade	-	-	76	11	7	19	4	0
23.	Walsham	-	-	50	11	11	13	3	17
24.	Henstead	-	-	65	19	10	17	3	17
25.	Loddon	-	-	72	13	2	20	3	12
26.	Forehoe	-	-	84	2	8	24	3	10
27.	Blofield	-	-	52	9	8	15	3	10
28.	South Erpingham	-	-	132	17	0	39	3	8
29.	North Erpingham	-	-	104	16	8	32	3	5
30.	Diss	-	-	39	6	0	15	2	12
31.	Taverham	-	-	45	15	2	18	2	10
32.	Humbleyard	-	-	60	1	0	24	2	10
				£3224	2	6	654	£4	18
	Gt. Yarmouth	-	-	100	0	0			
	Norwich	-	-	94	12	0			
	Lynn	-	-	50	0	0			
	South Lynn	-	-	18	0	0			

APPENDIX C.

Townships assessed at £10 and upwards.

Township.				Hundred.			Assessment.		
				£. s. d.			£. s. d.		
1.	Yarmouth	-	-	-	-	-	100	0	0
2.	Norwich	-	-	-	-	-	94	12	0
3.	Lynn	-	-	-	Freebridge	-	50	0	0

Township.			Hundred.	Assessment.		
				£.	s.	d.
4.	Terrington	- -	Freebridge	40	9	0
5.	Wiggenhall	- -	„	37	0	0
6.	Walpole	- -	„	35	10	0
7.	Tilney	- -	„	30	0	0
8.	Walsoken	- -	„	26	8	0
9.	West Walton	- -	„	23	0	0
10.	Swaffham	- -	S. Greenhoe	20	0	0
11.	Snettisham	- -	Smithdon	19	0	0
12.	South Lynn	- -	Freebridge	18	0	0
13.	Heacham	- -	Smithdon	16	10	0
14.	Thetford	- -	Shropham	16	0	0
15.	Sechford	- -	Smithdon	15	10	0
16.	N. Walsham	- -	S. Erpingham	15	0	0
17.	Geyton	- -	Freebridge	15	0	0
18.	Northwold	- -	Grimshoe	14	14	0½
19.	Worstead	- -	Tunstead	14	10	1½
20.	E. Dereham	- -	Mitford	14	10	0
21.	Babbingley	- -	Freebridge	14	0	0
22.	Fitcham	- -	Clackclose	14	0	0
23.	Waterwell	- -	Clackclose	14	0	0
24.	Aylsham	- -	Holt	13	10	0
25.	Holme	- -	Smithdon	13	10	0
26.	Emneth	- -	Freebridge	13	0	0
27.	Flitcham	- -	„	13	0	0
28.	Docking	- -	Smithdon	13	0	0
29.	Redenhall	- -	Earsham	13	0	0
30.	Wymondham	- -	Forehoe	13	0	0
31.	Wyveton	- -	Holt	13	0	0
32.	Sporle	- -	S. Greenhoe	12	10	10
33.	Burnham Westgate	-	Brothercross	12	10	0
34.	Feltwell	- -	Grimshoe	12	6	5½
35.	Ruston	- -	Happyng	12	6	0
36.	Pulham	- -	Earsham	12	4	0
37.	Shotesham	- -	Henstead	12	0	0
38.	North Rungeton	-	Freebridge	12	3	0
39.	Castle Acre	- -	„	12	0	0

Township.				Hundred.		Assessment		
						£.	s.	d.
40.	Massingham	-	-	Freebridge	-	12	0	0
41.	Swanton	-	-	Launditch	-	12	0	0
42.	Snitterley	-	-	Holt	-	12	0	0
43.	Causton	-	-	S. Erpingham	-	12	0	0
44.	South Creake	-	-	Gallow	-	11	12	0
45.	Breckham	-	-	Smithdon	-	11	10	0
46.	Scarning	-	-	Launditch	-	10	14	0
47.	Watlington	-	-	Clackclose	-	10	14	0
48.	Methwold	-	-	Grimshoe	-	10	12	10
49.	Ormesby	-	-	E. Flegg	-	10	10	0
50.	Marham	-	-	Clackclose	-	10	10	0
51.	Loddon	-	-	Loddon	-	10	9	9
52.	Saham	-	-	Wayland	-	10	7	4
53.	Barton Bendish	-	-	Clackclose	-	10	7	0
54.	Grimston	-	-	Freebridge	-	10	2	0
55.	Ringstead	-	-	Smithdon	-	10	0	0
56.	Burnham S. Clement	-	-	Brothercross	-	10	0	0
57.	Shipdham	-	-	Mitford	-	10	0	0
58.	Cleye	-	-	Holt	-	10	0	0
59.	W. Dereham	-	-	Clackclose	-	10	0	0
60.	Beachamwell	-	-	„	-	10	0	0

Of these 60 there are 16 in Freebridge, 7 in Smithdon, and in Clackclose, making 30 in the three most westerly hundred of the county.

APPENDIX D.

Return of the Collection and Payment of a Tent and Fifteenth in the 8th Henry 6th.

The following extract from the return made by the local Commissioners in Hilary term, 1430, will show the way in which a settlement was made with the Barons of the

Exchequer. It is taken from a small roll in the Norwich Muniment Room.⁷ After reciting the names of the collectors and the appointed days of payment, the return proceeds as follows:—

“Recepta Denariorum. Iidem onerant se gratis de m'm¹ m'ciii^{xx}j¹¹ vj^d de huiusmodi prima integra xv^a contingente bona mobilia diversorum Comitum Baronum Militum ac aliorum hominum de Communitate Comitatus predicti sicut continetur in quodam rotulo ipsorum Collectorum de particulis inde super hunc visum ostensis. Et de ccj¹¹ xij^a de huiusmodi prima integra x^{ma} contingente bona mobilia hominum Burgorum et Villarum que sunt de antiquo dominico Regis in Comitatu predicto sicut continetur ibidem et prout responsum est Regi de huiusmodi xv^a et x^a Rotulo compotorum de taxationibus.

“Summa oneris, m'm'm'ccciij^{xx}xij¹¹ xij^a vj^d. De quibus solverunt ad Receptam Scaccarii per diversas tallias levatas mense Januarii Anno viij^o super hunc visum ostensas m'm'm' cclxx¹¹ viij^a ij^d. Et respecti sunt eis per diversa brevia super hunc visum ostensa xxxv^a. Et respecti sunt eis xxxvij^a iiij^d de tertia parte villate de Remeshale in hundredo de Ersham per processum inde habitum et constitutum Baronum antenominatorum in memorandis de Anno viij^o Regis H. Quinti inter *status et visus compotorum* de termino S^ci Michaelis Rotulo xx^{mo} ex parte Rememoratoris Thesaurarii. Et respiciuntur eis xij^a de quibus petunt exonerari de parcella xx^a contingente xv^{am} ville de Brakendele in hundredo de Humyllyerd quos quidem xij^a Collectores x^{mo} Ciuitatis Norwici levaverunt de eadem xv^a eiusdem ville de quibus iidem Collectores x^{me} respondent in visu x^{me} supradicte. Et respiciuntur eis pro vadiis suis consuetis xvij¹¹.

“Et equales sunt.”⁸

Translation.—“Receipt of Money. The said (Collectors) freely charge themselves with £3191. 0s. 6d. of such⁹ a first whole

⁷ It corresponds with Lay Subsidies, Norfolk, 1488, in the Public Record Office.

⁸ Or perhaps “equatus est compotus.” The MS. has “Et eq.”

⁹ Perhaps “of the usual kind.”

fifteenth touching the moveable goods of divers Earls, Barons, Knights, and other men of the Commonalty of the County aforesaid, as is contained in a certain roll of the said Collectors of particulars therein shewn upon this view.¹ And with £201. 12s. 0d. of such a first whole tenth touching the moveable goods of the men of the boroughs and townships which are of the ancient demesne of the King in the county aforesaid, as is contained there and as answer has been made to the King of such a fifteenth and tenth in the roll of accounts of taxes.

"Sum of the charge, £3392. 12s. 6d., of which they have paid at the receipt of the Exchequer by divers tallies² levied in the month of January in the 8th year shown on this view, £3370. 8s. 2d. And there are allowed to them by divers briefs shewn on this view, 35s. And there are allowed to them 37s. 4d. of the 3rd³ part of the township of Remeshale, in the hundred of Ersham, by process thereon held and agreed of the aforementioned Barons in the memoranda of the 8th year of King Henry Vth, among the *States and Views of Accounts*⁴ of the term of S. Michael, in the 20th Roll on the side of the Treasurer's Remembrancer.⁵ And there are allowed to them 12s., of which they pray to be discharged, being parcel of 20s. touching the

¹ The audit at the Exchequer.

² Notched sticks struck to represent the sums of money paid, of which one half was kept as a voucher. The collectors first acknowledge their liability for the whole charge as entered against them in the Exchequer Roll. Then they produce their tallies for the amounts actually paid. Then they shew warrants for certain allowances, and finally claim a commission of £18 for the labour of collection. So the account balances, and they receive an acquittance. The commission is more than 1d. on the pound, but less than 1d. on the mark of 13s. 4d. For a most interesting account of the mode of conducting such settlements see Hubert Hall's *Antiquities of the Exchequer*, p. 126, &c.

³ This amount is one-half of the assessment in the list.

⁴ The title of some official document which contained the fixed charges (status) and the annual settlements (visus).

⁵ The chief of one of the departments of the Exchequer. See Scargill-Bird's *Guide to the Public Records*, p. xxi.

fifteenth of the township of Brakendele,⁶ in the hundred of Humyllyerd (Humbleyard), which 12*s.* the collectors of the tenth of the city of Norwich have levied of the said fifteenth of the said township, for which the said collectors of the tenth answer in the view of the said tenth. And there are allowed to them for their accustomed wages, £18.

“And they are quit.”

Afterwards follows an exactly similar return from the collectors of the tenth from the city of Norwich, accounting for their full liability of £94. 12*s.* 0*d.*, together with the 12*s.* from Trowse, belonging to the 20*s.* of the fifteenth in Bracondale, in all £95. 4*s.* 0*d.*

It will be observed that by these statements the 12*s.* from Trowse is reckoned as part of their “charge” by both the county and city collectors. The county collectors give £201. 12*s.* as their share of the tenth, and the addition of £94. 12*s.* from Norwich makes the whole tenth £296. 4*s.*, as stated above, p. 288. Trowse, therefore, must be reckoned in the fifteenth, which is stated to be £3191. 0*s.* 6*d.*, making the total £3487. 4*s.* 6*d.*, which differs only by 10*s.* from the (apparently) correct total.

⁶ This sum of 12*s.* was from Trowse in the suburb of the city of Norwich. About this time the jurisdiction was the subject of numerous disputes between the citizens and others, with the result that Trowse was decided to be “in and of” the city of Norwich, and Bracondale in the county of Norfolk. Hence the city collectors undertook to pay the 12*s.* from Trowse, but it is entered in the Subsidy Rolls as part of the 15th in Bracondale.

On certain Brasses at Necton & Great Cressingham

COMMUNICATED BY

THE REV. C. G. R. BIRCH, LL.M.

THE following brasses which, unless where otherwise stated, have been for many years preserved at Necton Hall, the seat of R. Harvey Mason, Esq., have been recently relaid in Necton Church.

1. Two shields of arms: Beauchamp with a label of three points, impaling Ferrers of Groby, and Ferrers of Groby, belonging to the brass of Philippa de Beauchamp, 1383. Philippa de Beauchamp was a daughter of Henry Lord Ferrers of Groby, and widow of Guy de Beauchamp, eldest son of Thomas, Earl of Warwick, who died in 1360. She is represented in the dress of a widow, vowed to a religious life, having made her solemn vow of chastity before the Bishop of Worcester, in the Collegiate Church of Warwick, upon her husband's death, and probably spent the remainder of her life in religious seclusion at Shouldham Priory. This brass was originally in the centre of the chancel before the altar, but is now placed in the north chancel, otherwise the Tony or St. Catharine's Chapel. The whole of the marginal inscription as shewn in Cotman's plate is now gone, as is also a third shield with the arms of



PHILIPPA DE BEAUCHAMP. 1383.

NEOTON.

Beauchamp, which was originally on the right side of the head of the effigy, the two which are now replaced having been respectively above the head and on the left side. Owing to an organ platform which covers the upper part of the slab, it was impossible to replace the former of these two in its original position, so it has taken the place of the lost shield on the right side of the head, the third shield being replaced in its original position on the left.

2. The effigies of William Curteys, notary, and his wife Alice, both deceased 1499. The former of these effigies, lately at Necton Hall, seems to have remained in the church at the date of Cotman's sketch in 1815. His plate, however, is very inaccurate and misleading, no indication of the indent of a female figure is given, the date is wrongly stated as 1490, instead of 1499, the brass itself is said to be at Holme Hale instead of Necton, and a scale is given, according to which the height of the effigy would be about double its actual size, *i.e.* 18½ inches. The *female effigy* was even then lost, and would seem to have been out of the church for about a century, having passed into the possession of Gough the antiquary, the Messrs. Nichols of Parliament Street, Westminster, &c., its latest resting-place having been with Mr. Cleghorn, of Shooter's Hill, where it was finally discovered by the perseverance of Mr. Mill Stephenson, F.S.A., and at once handed over for replacement by Mr. Cleghorn. Gough in his *Sepulchral Monuments*, ii. 227, thus describes this effigy, having apparently obtained an account of the brasses at Necton from Mr. Schnebbelic in 1790, which may be the approximate date of the transference of the effigy, then loose, into his possession. He describes Mistress Curteys as "in a three-quarters attitude, veil head-dress, close gown, and long buckled belt, her hands

elevated and displayed," which may be taken as a sufficient description of the figure. The expression of the face is pleasing, though slightly worn, and a small portion of the head-dress has been broken away. The upraised hands may be compared with Mistress Clere at Stokesby, 1488, and of the second wife of William de Grey, Esq., at Merton, *c.* 1520. The effigy of William Curteys himself is interesting, as being one of the few representations of a notary remaining. His hair is long and curled, and he is clad in the gown usually worn by persons of his class at the period, the only distinguishing peculiarities being the pen-case and ink-horn which are attached to his girdle. The brass generally is a fair specimen of those executed at the time by local artificers at Norwich, in this case probably by the Brasyers, to whose own brasses at St. Stephen's, Norwich, executed about 1513, there are several points of resemblance, in the treatment of the hair and otherwise. The effigies are turned towards each other, and are, as has been stated, slightly over eighteen inches in height. The inscription is immediately below the effigies, and has remained in the church throughout: it presents several points of interest, and runs as follows:—

Orate p' aiabz Willi Curteys Notarii ⁊ Alicie ux'is ei' q' obierit
 6° Kalendas Marcii a° Jhu M°ccccclxxxix quoz aiabz p'piciet' de' am

It will be noticed that both parties deceased on the same day, and that the date is stated in an unusual form. William Curteys, by his will proved in 1500,¹ founded a chantry in Necton Church, and desired to be buried upon the south side of the "Rode auter" in that church, a spot which could not be very far

¹ Carthew's *The Bradenhams*, &c., p. 174—"1883."



Deo p. m. h. v. l. l. i. i. v. i. t. i. s. u. n. t. a. m. t. h. o. c. v. e. s. i. q. o. b. u. r. i. t.
 h. u. l. d. a. s. w. a. r. m. a. s. h. i. m. c. c. c. l. e. p. t. e. m. u. o. r. a. n. i. b. u. s. p. p. i. n. d. i. t. a. m. i. c.

WILLIAM CURTEYS AND WIFE, 1499.
 NECTON.

MARY RUST, 1596.



removed, if at all, from that occupied at present by his gravestone, a slab of unusual size lying at the east end of the nave. It is matter for satisfaction to find this brass again complete, and all its portions, so long and variously separated, again occupying their original indents.

3. The effigy of Mary Rust, 1596, which is also engraved by Cotman, and is a fair ordinary specimen of the period of its execution, about twenty inches in height. This was originally in St. Catharine's Chapel, but as no trace remains of the slab or indent, it has been relaid in a new stone, probably in much the same position as that originally occupied. The lady is dressed in kerchief, ruff, stomacher, farthingale, and richly embroidered petticoat, after the fashion of the day, and bears a strong general resemblance to the well-executed figure of Jane Coningsbie (*née* Windham) at Felbrigg, 1608, so that it is difficult to avoid the conjecture that both memorials may have been executed by the same hand, Mistress Rust's possibly not having been erected immediately upon her death. The inscription is unfortunately now lost, but, as given by Blomefield, shews this lady to have been the daughter of Robert Goodwyn, Gent., who has a brass in the church dated 1532, a sister of Ethelburga Goodwyn, who has a brass dated 1527, and wife in the first instance of John Bacon, Gent., who has another brass dated 1528. She subsequently married Robert Rust, who died in 1558, and she survived until November, 1596,² when at the close of the eventful century, through nearly all of which she had lived, she must have attained a very advanced age, which, it may be remarked, her effigy makes no attempt to indicate.

² Buried November 28th, 1596.—Par. Reg.

Acknowledgments are due to R. Harvey Mason, Esq., of Necton Hall, and Mr. Cleghorn, for the readiness with which they surrendered possession of the brasses belonging to this church, which they respectively held, when assured that they would be carefully replaced in their original positions; also to the Rev. E. H. Nelson, Rector of Necton, for the interest in the matter shewn by him, and for much kind assistance.

At Great Cressingham, also, the fine effigy of William Eyre, Esq., "Juris peritus" and Justice of the Quorum for Norfolk and Suffolk, in civil costume, 1507, which has been for some years lying loose in its indent, has been once more securely refixed, together with the central portion of the inscription as shewn in Cotman's plate, which had long been missing, but which was fortunately traced into the possession of the local wheelwright, who had acquired it, together with other items at a local auction for a trifling sum. Thanks are due to the Rev. Ernest Heseltine, Rector of Great Cressingham, for his kind co-operation in the matter.

At the same time all other brasses, both at Necton and Great Cressingham, were examined, and, where found necessary, properly secured. The above replacements, &c., were carried out in June last by Messrs. Hardman of Birmingham, under the special superintendence of Mr. Thomas Wareing, and at the cost of the Rev. C. G. R. Birch of Brancaster, to whom the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society has since, in consideration of the above work, voted a sum which he proposes to apply towards further work of a like character

within the county. There are still in Norfolk many loose brasses which call for prompt attention, so that another generation may not have cause to deplore their loss. Pressing instances may be named at St. Lawrence, Norwich, East Tuddenham, and Fakenham, and doubtless others will be within the knowledge of many of our members. Too many valuable memorials, whose loss is now irreparable, have disappeared for want of such care, not only since the comparatively distant dates of the compilation of Blomefield's History, of Gough, and of Cotman, but within the recollection of many still living.

Eccles by the Sea.

COMMUNICATED BY

F. DANBY PALMER, M.S.A.

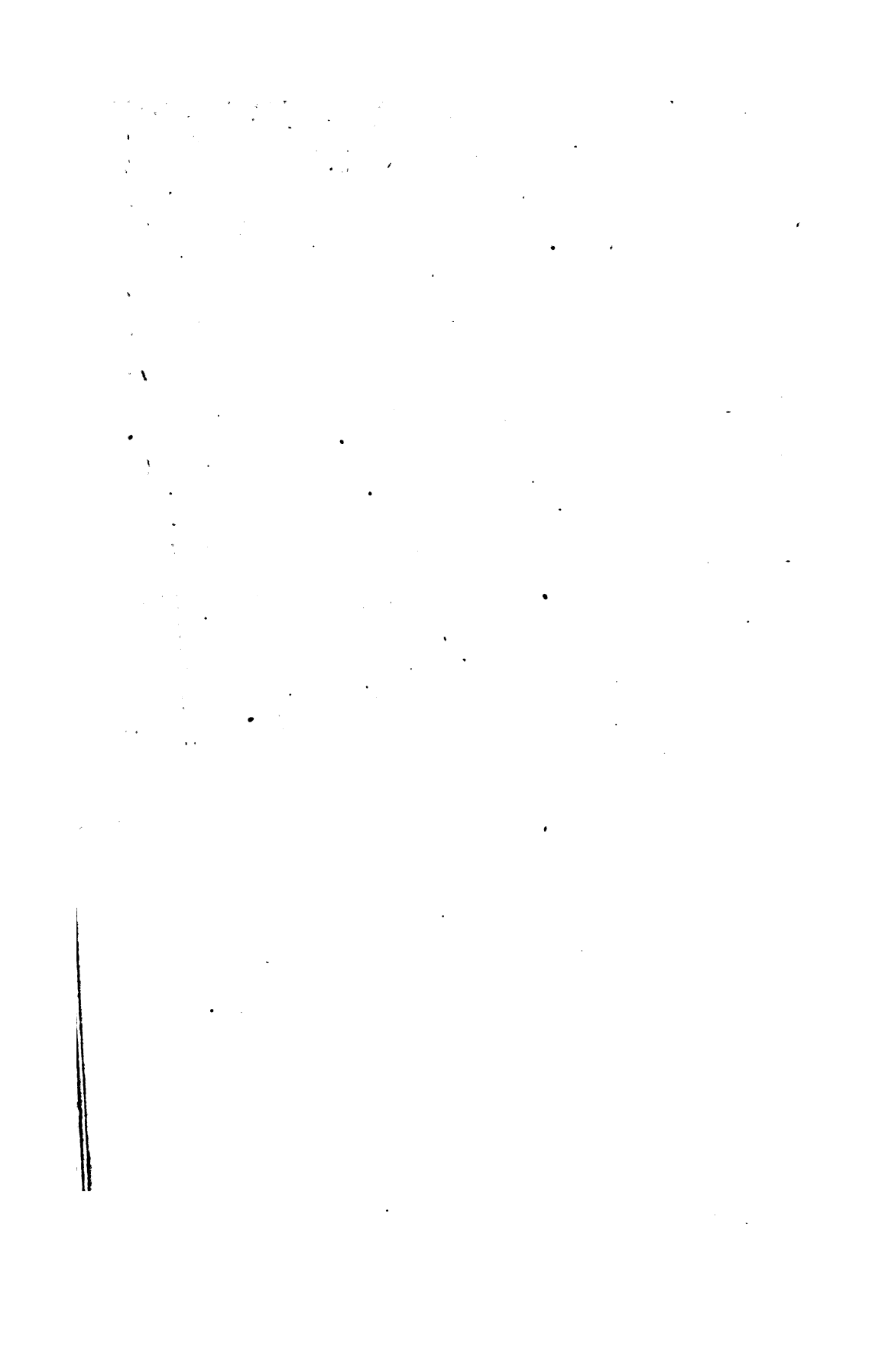
THE seaman or traveller who before this last January, 1895, may have been in the habit of coasting along the Norfolk shore, from the port of Gt. Yarmouth to the northward, cannot fail to have noticed, unless custom had dimmed his interest in the objects which met his eye, a tall and lonely structure, washed by the ocean waves, on Eccles beach, which upon enquiry he found described as "Eccles Steeple"; a strange and weird place indeed to find such an ecclesiastical ruin.

This tower, one of the round ones which furnish so marked a feature in this locality, was in fact the only part usually visible of the parish church of St. Mary at Eccles, which, however, is still a rectory in the gift of the Rev. Henry Evans Lombe, but I need hardly state is now practically a sinecure, of the value of £58. 10s., the few remaining inhabitants using the neighbouring church of Hempstead, for which action, indeed, they require no excuse, as it is impossible for the parson of Eccles, or his flock, to use a church which is non-existent.

That a very different state of affairs existed in earlier times is evident, for upon the occasion of the gale of October, 1893, displacing a large quantity of the sea



REMAINS OF ECCLES CHURCH, MAY, 1889.



beach sand, the foundations of the church were again after the lapse of many years bared to the view. The edifice was shewn to have consisted of the usual Early English church arrangement with one aisle to the south of it, probably added in consequence of an increased demand for church accommodation at some early period of its history.

On this being mentioned to Capt. H. King, R.N. (one of the corresponding members of our Society) he gave the writer much valuable information on the subject. Having been Coastguard officer for the district for the years 1858 to 1863, he was well acquainted with it at that time, and he lent our Society the two sketches which illustrate this paper, which he himself took in May, 1869.

Captain King wrote (1894), "My first sight of Eccles Tower was in February, 1858. It then stood on the edge of the marram. In December, 1862, occurred strong easterly gales and high tides, which washed away the sand and exposed the original level of the village of Eccles.

"On referring to my notes made on the 27th December, 1862, I find the following entry:—'To the north of the church considerable remains of cottages are laid bare: the very roads and ditches are visible. I thought that the latter might have been channels formed by the washing of the sea; but I found a hole or drain in the churchyard wall to let the water run through into one of these ditches, which remain tolerably perfect from having been covered up so constantly with sand. The old tower stands now clear of the sandhill in which it was imbedded.'

"On the 1st May, 1869, I made a careful study of the church [Plate I.] At that time the foundations were perfect.

"On the night of the 19th October, 1869, occurred a north-easterly gale and high tide [sketched in Plate II.] On that occasion the *eastern foundation* of the church was undermined and turned over on its side.

"Since that period further dilapidations have taken place."

With regard to the township itself, it may be here stated that it lies nine miles east by south of North Walsham, and was formerly a hamlet of the great lordship of Hasburgh or Happisburgh, two miles distant (once the site of a Roman station), held in Saxon times, with the adjoining lands, including Eccles, by Edric the Dane, who is said to have "seized on them." He held at the Conquest, when he was deprived of his estate by the Normans.

From the earliest times it is clearly shown by the records of past ages how much and how often this district has suffered from what old Manship calls "the great rage of the sea:" thus since the days of Edric the villages of Shipden, Keswick, Clare, and Whimnall have utterly disappeared, and the greater part of several other townships, of which Eccles is one, have followed suit.

The earliest record as to this is to be found in *Bartholomæi de Cotton, Monachi Norwicensis, Historia Anglicana* (edited by H. R. Luard, M.A., and published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls), p. 168, and reads as follows:—"Anno gratiæ MCLXXXVII die Dominica proxima ante festum Sancti Thomæ apostoli in Novembri,¹ circa mediam noctem audita sunt tonitrua, et die Mercurii proximo sequente facta est inundatio maris magna. In cujus inundatione seu immensa tempestate in villis de Horseye, Waxtonesham, Martham,

¹ So in Cotton, but St. Thomas' Day is December 21st.



ECCLES TOWER IN A STORM, OCTOBER, 1869.

Hikelingē, et in villis adjacentibus cē homines submersi sunt. In villa vero de Gernemuta centum homines sunt submersi. In magna vero Gernemuta prostratus est murus lapideus cimiterii per inundationem maris spatio lx pedum. Et prostratus est murus prioris pronus in terram, et ita flumen accrevit quod ultra magnum altare in dicta ecclesia transcendebat." We cannot well doubt but that Eccles was one of these adjacent villages.

A more detailed account of this inundation, in which, among other incidents, 180 persons perished at Hickling, will be found in the Chronicle of John de Oxenedes (*Rolls Series*), p. 270.

Passing to another part of its history, the manor (also now held by the Rev. Henry Evans Lombe), is worthy of special remark.

Many valuable privileges are, or were, enjoyed with it. Thus we find² in 33rd Edward I. (1305) William le Parker as lord was entitled to wreck of the sea, lagan, and resting-geld, customs, and other profits upon sea and land; and of every crew of a ship or boat washing their nets in the village after Michaelmas to Martinmas, an hundred herrings; and also a fee for goods, chattels, &c., coming to land by sea without the help of the said William or his servants, or resting upon the land one day and one night; and if the said William or his men, &c., immediately after imminent danger, or after shipwreck, should do their endeavour to save such things, he shall have a third part of them or the equivalent value, unless of his good will he will remit something, but he must not be asked.

Returning, however, to the ravages of the sea, it may be remembered that much of the damage here has arisen from the fact that from time immemorial persons have

² *Blomefield*, ix. 294.

been allowed to take whatever sea-beach materials they required for domestic or other purposes, without molestation or the exaction of any fee, and unfortunately the increasing demand for this induced individuals who were deputed by the lords of the manor to officiate in their stead, to apply for permission to charge so much per freight or load; which being granted, a large income has been realized from the hundreds of loads of sand and stones removed annually. So severely had the parish suffered from this and the other causes referred to, that in 1605 the following petition (now in the library of Pembroke College, Cambridge) was presented to the Queen's Commissioners:—

1605. The certificate of y^e Ruynated Estate of the
Town of Eccles.

Whereas a greate parte of y^e houses & lande lyinge within y^e sy^d towne of Eccles & all y^e church of Eccles by reason of y^e contynuall breaches of y^e sea be swallowed up y^e sea, and where y^e same towne hath bene a good fysher towne lxxx were householders & in lande xiii C acres, yere is nowe not remaynyng above fourteen housholds & of lande not above iii C acr[es], y^e rest being all eaten upp with y^e sea, all yis notwithstan[d]ing y^e sy^d towne standeth still chargeable with so muche taxe³ as w[hen] it stood in his best estate, & ye vicar of y^e sy^d towne with as muche.

Y^e humble petition of y^e Inhabitants of y^e sy^d towne is yat y^e sy^d taxe may be moderated as yt seemeth good to yo^r honorable considerations.

Jo. Norwich. Will. Paston. W. Scamble.

In conclusion it may be remarked that every remaining vestige of Eccles denotes antiquity. Ancient

³ See note below, p. 310.

stone walls are from time to time exposed by the action of the sea, removing lofty sand-hills, and the peasantry have picked up silver and copper coins of great antiquity on its beach. But a still stronger evidence of a remote period may be traced in the wells constructed with large unburned bricks, formed in a mould wider at one end than at the other, to adapt them to the true circumference of the well itself, and it seems clear that these wells had been filled up with earth, and ceased to be used before the abandonment of the place, since near to every one is a stone well, built with mortar similar to that of the church.

The foregoing brief notes, which were originally read to the Yarmouth branch of our Society in February, 1894, were suggested by the anxiety which had long been felt with regard to the safety of the old steeple. Through the kind interest of the Rev. H. Evans Lombe, assisted by Mr. Francis Hornor and Mr. George Wilkinson of Holt, some steps were taken during 1894 to ensure the preservation of the structure, at least for some time. The base was cemented in order to arrest the progress of decay through the action of the weather or an occasional inroad of the sea or the still more destructive hands of thoughtless visitors.

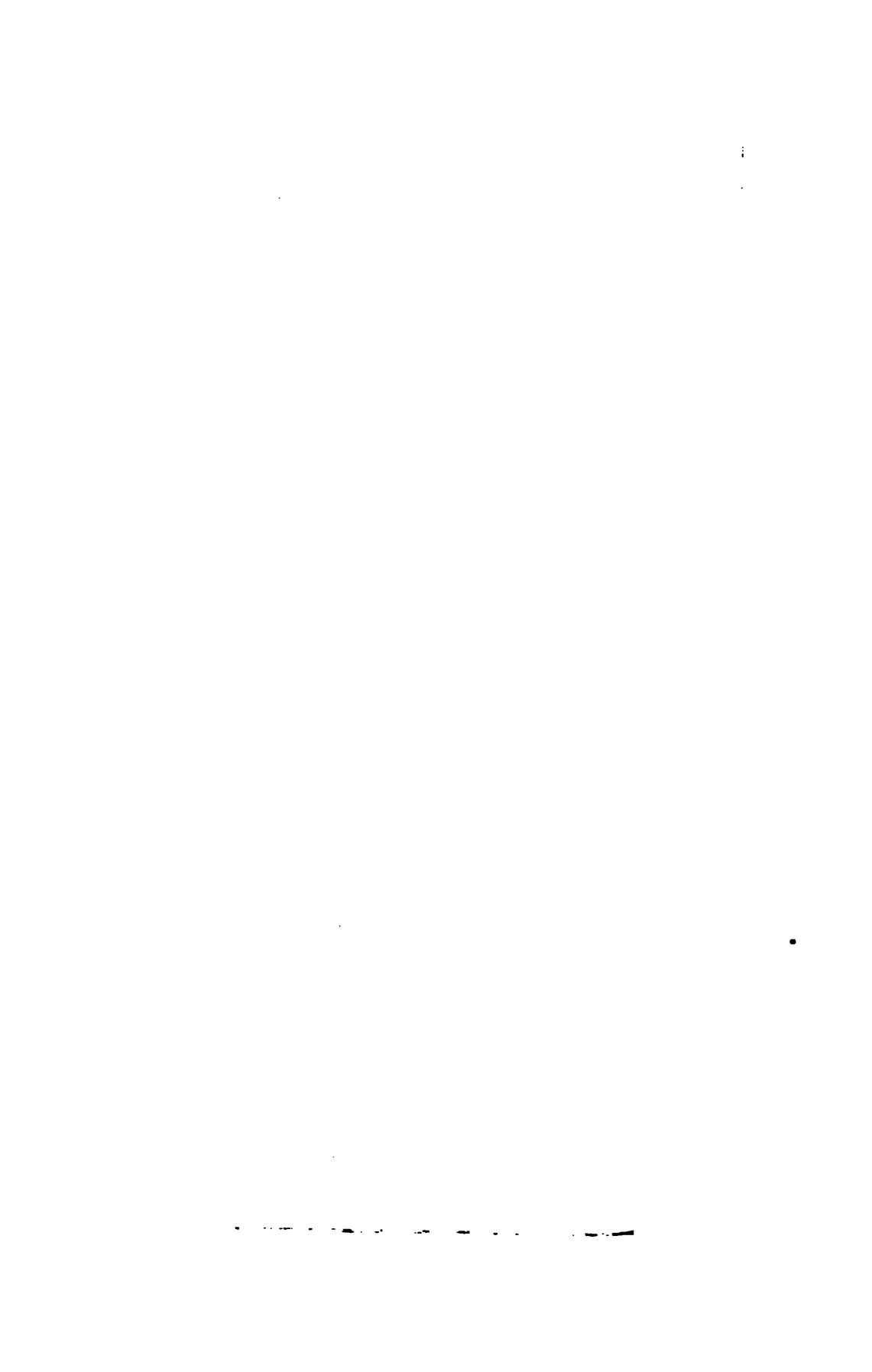
The notes were already passing through the press, when a new and unexpected interest was added to them. The dreaded catastrophe had taken place. The last ten days of December, 1894, brought with them a series of north-easterly gales of unusual violence, accompanied by high tides which almost threatened to repeat the experiences of 1287. The base of the tower was

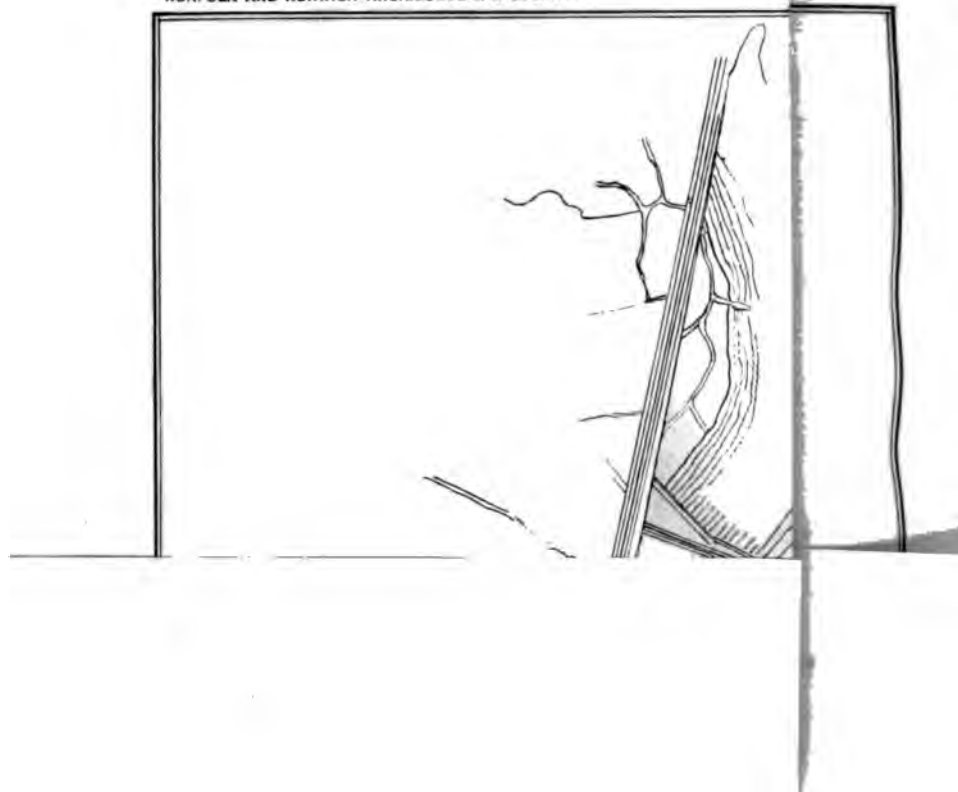
submerged, and the waves at times dashed half way to the summit. The danger passed; but only for a time. On Wednesday, January 23rd, 1895, another gale of equal violence sprang up, driving before it a tide of abnormal height. A neighbouring resident, Mr. Clements, jun., of the Manor Farm, states ³ that at six o'clock, when he left the spot, "the sea was breaking furiously against the tower, at times the spray of the breakers going over its summit." At seven o'clock, when he returned, the tower had disappeared. "It had fallen in a north-westerly direction, in the very teeth of the gale." Thus one more of the coast churches of Norfolk has become a thing of the past, and perhaps some day a "Church Rock" will alone mark, at low tides, the spot where Eccles Church once stood.

NOTE.—The "tax" from which the inhabitants of Eccles petitioned to be relieved (p. 308) was settled in 1334 at £3. 12s. 0d., as entered in the "Norfolk Assessment" given in this volume (p. 267). It appears also that the place had no share in the abatement allowed to "decayed towns" in 1449, therefore it must be presumed that its decay had not set in at that date.

A plan of the foundations of Eccles Church, as laid bare in October, 1893, was made by Mr. James Teasdel of Gt. Yarmouth, and shewn at the annual meeting of the Yarmouth branch of the Society in January, 1894.

³ See *Eastern Daily Press*, January 26th, 1895.





Freebridge Marshland Hundred

AND THE

Making of Lynn.

COMMUNICATED BY

EDWARD M. BELOE, F.S.A.

*Read at a Meeting of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society
at Lynn, September 8th, 1893.*

THE HUNDRED.

THE Hundred of Free-Bridge—in *Domesday* the Hundred and Half of Frede Bruge¹—has from early times been in two divisions:—Freebridge Lynn and Freebridge Marshland. Freebridge Marshland comprises the "Province" or district of Marshland which contains the seven townships of Emneth, Walsoken, Walton, Walpole, Terrington, Tilney, and Clenchwarton, and outside the "Province," Wiggenhall and Lynn. The subdivision of these townships into parishes in no way concerns us. The townships are shown in the map accompanying my description of them.² The hundred of Free Bridge was certainly in the fourteenth

¹ Frida Bridge, dedicated to the goddess, as Wansford is to Woden. Friday Bridge, in Elm, would seem to have the same derivation. It is marked on the fifteenth century map in the museum at Wisbech.

² See Map No 1.

century the richest district in Norfolk,³ the magnificence of the churches of that century, and the earlier and later centuries, attest its wealth. Free Bridge Marshland is entirely recovered from the sea. The history of this work, as shown by the landmarks of its progress which remain, is the subject of this paper.

THE MARSHLAND.

It is said—I know not how truly—that the current that sets from the north whirls at the head of the Wash, bringing down from the cliffs of Yorkshire the sediment which by other currents takes its southward course, and has a tendency to deposit it directly into the estuary. And this will account for a great deal of what we have to treat of. But before I come to this I want to impress upon my readers one fact. There is in the great basin which forms the fen country a pavement as it were of peat. It runs quite from the hills that surround the bay to the sea. It is of different depths, and it is of different thickness. We have here to limit our inquiry to a district which extends not more than twenty miles around Lynn. The whole of that district is paved as it were with peat. It is underneath the whole town of Lynn. It runs up to the hills at Gaywood; it goes through the whole of Marshland; it edges the sea to Hunstanton and to Brancaster. If you want to get a fine section of it you cannot do better than take a boat at low tide up the Estuary Cut. You will find about six feet from the surface of the banks one level line quite the whole two miles on either side.

³ See the paper on "The Assessment of Norfolk in 1334," by the Rev. W. Hudson, pp. 249, 250, 293 of this volume.

That line, as I have said, is the peat which goes under the whole country. It is formed in parts of it from the forest; in other parts with rank vegetation, decayed so that it becomes black with age. At its formation the sea did not flow over it; and this must be well remembered and well considered. What kept back the sea we know not, but the whole of the fen land and the whole of Marshland and the whole of Lynn was covered with a teeming, reeking fen vegetation. Over this, at some unknown epoch, broke the sea. The sea whirled backwards and forwards, depositing at every tide a silty substance, and wherever this deposit is we call it marsh; but by some unknown law, which I cannot explain to you, without being stopped by any barrier, the sea flowed no further inland than over the northern part of this peat-paved basin, and there it left the fen country, as it were, uncovered with silt, and that remains fen still.

The district to which we must narrow our inquiry is bounded by the Nene on the one side, and by the Ouse on the other. These are the eastern and western boundaries, the northern being the Wash and the southern the fens. Over the whole of this district, the tide flowed and deposited its silty sandy soil, stopping about eight miles inland, leaving, then, the great district behind uncovered, which is the fen proper. I don't go further south than this great fen, some six miles one way and two or three the other to the south of Marshland, and which at one time formed the common. It has since been divided up; it is called the Marshland Fen and Marshland Smeeth.

Radiating from this common were the townships of Marshland, having their southern boundary on the common and as their northern boundary the sea or river, excepting one which we shall specially refer to. Now,

these seven towns of Marshland are the province of Marshland, which were once open to the sea, and men must have joined, when the sea ebbed and flowed over them, to form a great barrier and to shut it out. Whether it was the inhabitants of the fen that did this, or whether it was the settlers from a distance—who saw the chance of gaining a large territory, I know not; but there must have been a great combination, for they formed a bank, which is the boundary of the reclaimed land towards the Nene on the east, towards the sea on the north, and towards what was then the Lin on the west.

It is called the Roman Bank, but when made, or by what means, or what power of combination these people had, I cannot tell you: but there within that bank they formed themselves into seven settlements. They had a great common for their cattle at their backs, and the sea which they had fought in their front. Now we will come to a very interesting point. Outside this bank and unenclosed by it, was, as I have said, the Lin. It was divided afterwards into north, south, west, and the "Bishop's Lin," and it was left sea when Marshland was shut in. It was the Lin. The western bank of the Lin was the eastern boundary of Marshland. The eastern boundary of the Lin was the bank that divided the high lands of Norfolk from the sea. This eastern bank (which corresponded to the Roman bank on the opposite side of the water behind West Lynn) was the bank that runs down by our Walks, and divides the old settlement of Gaywood from where the sea then washed. I have now shewn you where the bounds of the old lake were, east and west. Southerly it hissed up the whole way to the southern boundary of the Lin at Watlington.

The Wiggenhalls are not in Marshland: they are of

more recent formation.⁴ The boundary of Marshland runs in a line north and south, westward of the Wiggenhalls. Now we will take this bank as the boundary of Marshland, and we will call it by its name, the Roman Bank. The Roman Bank formed the western boundary of the river Ouse, running down and forming a defence from the sea, which then flowed up past the Wiggenhalls. We will make this clear presently. The people that formed the seven parishes called them by names, which, as to four, had reference to this bank. We have the Wal-soken, the Wal-ton, and the Wal-pole, all of them having reference to the bank; for "wall" formerly did not mean only that which was built of bricks and mortar, but anything of earth as well.⁵ Then we have Clenchwarton,—one of these seven towns, and the name of this village has a very singular derivation, to which I must call your attention. The "war" in Clenchwarton is well known to be equivalent to guard.⁶ The Warborough is a beacon hill, and is so marked on the Ordnance map: there are two on the north coast of Norfolk, and War-ham near Wells, with its grand Danish camp is the guard-town. This War-town or Guard-town is a town which is created entirely by banks, for even on its land side it has its war-ditch or bar-ditch—but of this hereafter. You may take that name as clear as

⁴ In Dugdale's *History of Embanking and Drainage* the district is frequently mentioned as "the provinces of Marshland and Wiggenhale," when "Dugdale" is referred to, the above work is meant.

⁵ Nearly all the towns beginning with Wal- are on rivers or the sea. Wal-worth on the south of Thames adjoins the river, and is named from its site. See next note.

⁶ In Skeat's *Concise Etym. Dict.*, p. 595—"✓ War, also Wal,—to surround, protect, guard." Wal, in Walton and the other towns, may have the same meaning as War in Clenchwarton, and not Wall. See also Streatfield's *Lincolnshire and the Danes*, p. 180.

you may the Walpoles or Walton. The first syllable is also singular, and can well be made out. It is written in Domesday "Cleuch," precisely as on the other side of the German Ocean we have "Helvvoet sluys." Now mind, a sluice then was not as we have it now, to let water out, but "sluice" comes from "exclusa," to exclude the water. That is well known; and therefore we have in Clenchwarton⁷ the town guarded by the banks excluding the water.⁸

THE WIGGENHALLS (WIGREHALE).

There is nothing in which there is so much empiricism as in the derivation of place-names, and it is utterly foolish for persons to jump at derivations without proof or without distinction. But when we have a name clearly put before us, and when we can trace it to its source, and can see what it was at first, we should be taking from ourselves a great means of knowledge if we did not courageously adopt a reasonable derivation. I have said to you that the Wiggenhalls were not included in Marshland; they were not enclosed by any bank. I will now tell you the reason why, and for this I must have recourse to our plans.⁹ You will see that the Marshland parishes all lie to the west of the Wiggenhalls. We have dealt with the great work, the Roman Bank, made to enclose Marshland. We have now to deal with a greater bank, and a bank which still continues to bear the name for which it was made,—the Great North Sea Bank. It is a splendid work. It runs east and west, and was made to exclude the waters of the Lin from the Wiggenhalls. That it

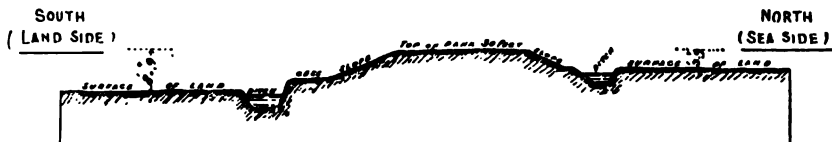
⁷ In the Terrier to which I refer hereafter it is Sleuchwarton: "u" and "n" in mediæval writing are very similar, which may account for the change.

⁸ See Section No. 3.

⁹ See Map No. 1.

N^o1.

TRANSVERSE SECTION of NORTH SEA BANK in SOUTH LYNN



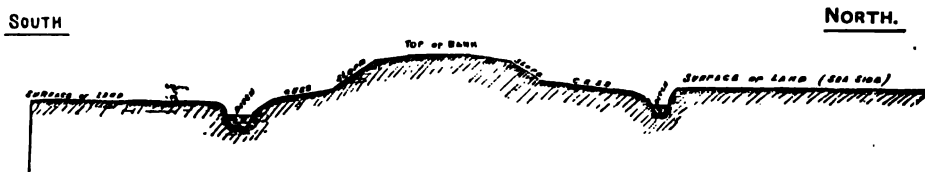
N^o2.

TRANSVERSE SECTION of PODIKE BANK AT STOW.



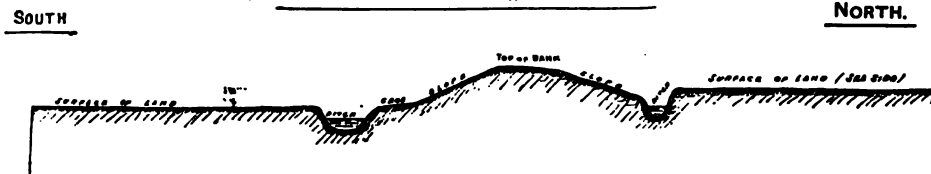
N^o3.

TRANSVERSE SECTION AT CLENCHWARTON



N^o4.

TRANSVERSE SECTION AT EAU BRINK



See Map No. 1.

HORIZONTAL & VERTICAL SCALE 20 FT = 1 INCH





was a bank shutting out the sea we have not only the evidence of its name, but the state of the land on either side—on the land side the soil is low, very low, and on what was the sea side it is high.¹ And this is the case with all sea banks; the tide flowed on, depositing its silt on the sea side, and making the surface higher and higher; the enclosed land remained at its former level. I am able, by the kindness of Mr. J. C. Hart, to give you two sections of the North Sea bank, and one of the Roman bank, most carefully taken by him.²

Here I must explain to you that the division of parishes in our inquiry was entirely ignored. In *Domesday Book* and always in Dugdale, except in one instance, Wiggenhall is all one; it is Wigrehale. The derivation of "Wigr" we must be a little doubtful of. Blomefield is not generally happy in his derivation of names of places, but I think he is correct here. The "Wi" is certainly water; what "gre" means I do not know; and the "hale" is equivalent to rush. We have therefore, I think, here the water outfall. Now this exactly corresponds with the position of the Wiggenhalls. All that is blue on the plan was then the Lin,—water freely flowing all over the great space in one great lake. The North Sea Bank excluded the waters from the Wiggenhalls, and if you follow it you will see exactly the opening of the river as it was at that time. If you stand at the corner where the North Sea Bank turns south near the Eau Brink, and look across to Islington where the bank bordering Marshland was, you will see the great estuary where the river Ouse flowed into what was then the sea. And here again the names help us. Eau Brink was the brink on the sea.

¹ See Sections Nos. 1, 3, 4.

² See Sections Nos. 1 to 4.

It stands exactly where the mouth of the river closed, the North Sea Bank running past it; for, mind you, although it is now called Eau Brink, the real name is Ea Brink, which is a union of the British word brink and the Saxon word Ea, and is the old name for this hamlet lying at the outlet of the Ouse, the township at the mouth of the river. The township of Wigrehale runs seven miles inland, and at the back of it joins the Marshland Fen, and is there fen itself uncovered with silt.³

We have got pretty well to the two great enclosures of Marshland by the Roman Bank, and of the Wiggenhall by the North Sea Bank. But these only provided safety from the sea: the hardy dwellers of marshland found another enemy invading them from the south. This time it was from the fresh water coming by "Well,"⁴ Upwell and Outwell, and overflowing the fen, and our attention is now called to the southern boundary of the country. This was guarded long before record by the Old Podyke, and much wailing there was in early times of the breaking of the banks and of the injury to the fen.

It is hardly possible to realize the rush of waters that could have caused this, for now the old podyke lies quiet and useless, going its winding course for many many miles like a serpent, and lying on land all around dry and drained, man having got master of the waters.⁵ But all they did to the old podyke was ineffectual to stop the danger. They set to work to make a new dyke, three miles southward and away

³ The hamlet of Hardwick ran on a promontory, forming the outlying land of Runcton. Of its name I am doubtful, as I am of West Winch, but both relate, in my opinion, to the waters of the Lin.

⁴ This "Well" river was turned, either by its natural current or artificially, into Well Creak and so to Salter's Lode.

⁵ See Section No. 2.

from their property, to form a second barrier, called the New Podyke, now the northern bank of Well Creak. This was made by the Marshland townships soon after the 1st Henry VI., and the danger is thus described:—"That the banks and sewers lying betwixt the waters of Well and the stream which ran thence to Wiggenhall were so torn and consumed, partly by the violence of the tides, and partly by the great flow of fresh water passing that way, that there great damage was done," and the way the country went to work to make this dyke may suggest how the old dykes were made.

The Sheriff of Norfolk impounded jurors, who met the Commissioners appointed by the king, and the jurors presented "that the bank called Podyke, anciently made for the safeguard of the towns in this province of Marshland, was ruinous, and a great portion of the ground overflowed with fresh water," and the Commissioners ordained for the better preservation of the towns of Marshland, another wall on the north side of Salters Lode Bank should be made by all the landowners throughout Marshland, and all the inhabitants within the towns thereof and of the town of Wiggenhall.⁶

By a fresh adjustment made in the 21st Henry VII. each town of Marshland, with Wiggenhall, was given a piece of the bank to repair. By this new adjustment every acre of ground in Marshland was assessed to four inches of the said bank.

I wish I could give some suggestion as to the times when the first inclosures of Marshland and Wiggenhall were made. It is far, far beyond the beginning of history; it was before the embanking of the Lin, because if the

⁶ Dugdale, Cole's Ed., p. 263.

Lin was then ready to be inclosed, Wiggshall would have been included in Marshland, and in the privileges that Marshland gained in their rights of common over the smeeth and fen.⁷

THE TRACKWAYS AND THE DYKES.

The marked internal feature in the economy of Marshland is the system of trackways that led from the settlements to this great common of the smeeth and fen. The settlements themselves, which afterwards became villages, were all under the "Roman" Bank, or near the river bank, the latter the more dangerous, as we have seen, from the fresh waters coming down and meeting the "Æger," that was an ancient incident to our tidal waters.

There are several maps which fortunately preserve for us traces of the earlier features of the country. The earliest is one by William Heyward, 1591, belonging to Sir Willam ffolkes of Hillington Hall, who has kindly allowed me the use of it. It is the Survey from which all the subsequent maps of Dugdale and Blomefield were taken, and our earliest authority.

⁷ Except on the bank in Walsoken near Wisbech, no Roman remains of any kind have been found in Marshland, Wiggshall, or Lynn. I have two fine bronze spear-heads which came from a house in Terrington, but with no evidence where they were found. In this year (1895), in making the new railway bridge at Sutton Bridge, a perfect palæolithic flint celt was found on the peat, 16 ft. below the bed of the river and 39 ft. below Ordnance datum line; over the peat lay the silt, and over that strata of sand, stones, and shells. This spot was formerly in the estuary of the Nene. On the marine forest at Holme a small polished celt was found in 1829, now in the Norwich Museum; and in dredging for oysters in the Mid Wash, three miles off the floating light, a fine perforated stone hammer was found, now in the Lynn Museum. I leave the suggestions following on these facts to others, but it seems the settlements of early man extended beyond the Roman bank into what is now sea.

Another important map is that made for the Commissioners of Sewers of Marshland, a reduced copy of which was engraved in 1826. These will be referred to as Heyward's map and Utting's map.⁸

We are here assisted by Heyward's map. In 1591 the "Droves" were a great mark of the country. They became useless on the enclosure of the smeeth and fen in 1795, but their entrance into the common is still marked by the "Gate," by which each township entered into it.

All these droves went to the smeeth, not the fen, which was probably at times deep in water. They were for the most part a furlong broad, all grass, and some $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 miles long, taking up really a substantial portion of the land. They may still be traced in parts. Thus opposite the "Robin Hood," West Walton, are two roads leading down to the smeeth; the land between them was the "Drove," marked in Heyward's map as Walton Drove. In Utting's map, 1826, this piece, then fields, is stated to be new enclosed land. Houses are now on the east and west sides of the roads, and were

⁸ The earliest map would seem to be one in the Wisbech Museum, and is of extreme interest. Of this the authorities have kindly given me the use. It is dated 1657, and was copied (*renovata*) from one of 1597, which was also copied from a previous one. The copy of 1657 retains the lettering of the original map, which was not later than 1480. The Monastery of Thorney is taken as existing: the notes on it are of great value. The copyist of 1657 did not finish these, for some are blank spaces, and one is incomplete, finishing "*et ab illo fossato usque Wryde et ab Wryde.*" The discussion of this map would form a paper of itself: it seems hitherto to have been unnoticed. I cannot leave the subject of maps without naming the valuable survey of Thomas Mylne, dated 1797, from surveys taken 1790—1794. Both Heyward and Mylne were probably connected with important surveys of the Bedford Level. William Heyward in 1604 made a plan and award of the whole fen-land for the Bedford Level Commissioners, and Robert Mylne was appointed one of the two engineers under the first Eau Brink Act, 1795.

formerly on the sides of the drove with an open green space between. The Tilney "Drove" is also marked on the road from Tilney fen end to Tilney All Saints, which is the site of the earlier settlement of the township of Tilney. The drove is shown by the line on Utting's map, and called New Field, quite from Tilney fen end. It is a furlong broad for the first two miles from the smeeeth, and is now enclosed, but marked, as I said of Walton Drove, by a line of houses one field off the present highway, which, narrowed, goes along the western side of the old drove. I would trace Tilney Drove further. On approaching St. Lawrence Church, which it passes, the present narrow road crossed the drove and went down its western side, and Aylmer Hall was on the eastern and the church on the western side of the drove, and both immediately on it; the space between was grass.

I have said that the Church of St. Lawrence was on the drove, so was Terrington St. John's on Terrington Drove; Islington Church, now in fields, was close on an open common, and on the principal line of communication across the river still called the "Pull over." These churches now appear off all lines of communication, but as I showed in my paper on the fen road,⁹ the principal objects were on the ancient tracks, which being disused as the main lines of communication, the important sites on them appear out of society altogether.

Marshland was, up to the present century and well into it, an isolated country. Complete in itself, its population marked and living its own life, with water on all sides, the access to it barred by its two boundary rivers, east and west, that at Cross Keys only fordable at low tides, and the first passage over the Ouse (save

⁹ *Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications*, vol. vii. p. 112.

by ferries) being at St. German's. The road that traversed it went along the southern boundary. The main lines of access from one part to another were then the droves.¹ It was not till the Ouse Bridge was opened in 1821, and the Cross Keys in 1826, with the new roads consequent on their construction, that there was any material traffic into or across Marshland.

But on the subject of the droves, we must not forget the township of Wiggenhall, which I have included in this paper. The drove was a marked feature there in the same way as in Marshland, and it had its own commons at the south of it. The rights, however, were divided among the parishes, as those of Marshland were among the townships. St. Mary's, St. German's, went by the "Common" Drove² to their fen in which St. Peter's had equal rights, but lying away the "drove" of St. Peter's took a long course across St. German's to the Common Drove. This St. Peter's Drove across St. German's was long a puzzle to me, but it is all clearly made out that it was the old track to the commons, to reach which it had to join the Common Drove. Magdalen had its own common, now Magdalen Fen, immediately on its southern border, and therefore required no drove.

I will only add one more feature of what may be literally called the landmarks of Marshland—these are the in-dykes, or as they are more frequently called in maps, the bar-dykes or war-dykes:³ these are bar-riers (this word still retains the same first syllable) raised to protect the inland townships. Like the droves

¹ The roads through Marshland east and west are marked on map No. 1 by strong lines.

² It still retains its name on the Ordnance Map, and at its junction stood a roadside cross marked on Heyward's Map.

³ The B and W are interchangeable by Grimm's law.

they run north and south: they divide the townships: the droves run down inside these. The first was the division between Clenchwarton and Tilney, the bardyke in Heyward's map, the warbank on Utting's. The next is the Five Mile Bank, stretching the whole breadth of Marshland, right to the Smeeth. The bank between Walpole and Walton remains, and is called the fences. In Utting's map its western side is the war-bank: the whole is now called the fence-bank. Wiggerhall had its separate bank called the Fen Dyke, and this in early times was repaired by St. Mary's, St. German's, and St. Peter's, keeping a distinction of the parishes as in the matter of the droves.

THE PRESERVATION OF THE EMBANKMENT.

The preservation of the great work thus completed and on which the very existence of the land depended, was very thoroughly carried out by the people.

The king has always had the right by his prerogative to appoint Commissioners of Sewers, regulated afterwards by the statute of Henry VIII. Their meetings formed a Court of Sewers. We find commission after commission issued whenever danger appeared.

I have elsewhere⁴ observed the great power the people in the early middle ages possessed of self-government, and their obedience to authority. The constitution of this Court of Sewers in its early times was formed on a strictly popular basis. Jurors were called in an early instance, 2nd Edward III., by the Sheriff. A jury presented the common difficulty to the court in 1st Hen. VI., and on their finding the Commissioners made an order in the instance I have quoted. The Sheriff had command to summon a jury to attend at Islington on

⁴ *Our Borough*, by E. M. B.

the feast of John the Baptist, as to a question of liability to repair banks between Tilney and Islington, in which controversy Tilney seemed to have got the best of it. And in the same manner a court was held in 11th Edward III., when a jury was empanelled and sworn, and their finding shows the greater danger of the river bank, for the bank between Clenchwarton and Wiggenhall, two miles long, broke in five places on the Monday after the feast of Hilary, and cost £75 to repair. Tilney was overflowed—pastures flooded—sown winter corn and hay destroyed, and 100 sheep and 60 ewes, to the damage of £300 to Tilney; and then follow divers findings of some local interest,—that within thirty years they had lost one church, twenty messuages, and 300 acres of land. In the next year the men of Marshland prayed the king to be excused the tenth and fifteenth then about to be levied, and they were granted a great remission, and there was another prayer for remission in 21st Edw. III. I only give these as examples among a mass of materials of the manner in which the country was guarded, and the condition of the people ameliorated.

The presentation by jurors is now lost. Almost its last great exercise of authority was the making of "The great law of Marshland,"⁵ for the internal government of the Province, the Wiggenhalls, and the Lin. It is a careful regulation of the work to be done to defend and secure the country, under surveyors, two for every township, who were to oversee the dike-reeve. It is a perfect code for procedure. In default of any one missing his duty it gives penalties, and what is more, very strong powers of enforcing them. The very last time I find the system of jurors coming into the

⁵ Passed at a Session of Sewers, held 5th October, 1619.

government of the Marshland is at a court held in Lynn in 1714. Now this ancient power is gone, duties are carried out with much less dignity at meetings of commissioners with the dike-reeves reporting their complaints.

The inhabitants of the whole country of which I am now writing found not a drop of fresh water for their use, nor a stone the size of a pebble; the sea they had shut out left the soil pure silt, impregnated with its salt. It is to the heavens above they still look for all they drink. In this province of Marshland and the Wiggenhalls, by what effort or by whom is entirely unknown, and under conditions which I have perhaps too fully recited in this paper, the people built to the glory of God a series of churches, which even now astonish us. It was no sudden effort quickly spent, but continued for centuries. We have the Norman of Tilney in its grander form at Walsoken; the unrivalled beauty and loveliness of the earlier English at Walton; the splendid fifteenth-century of Walpole, the cathedral of Marshland; and the minster-like proportion of many periods of Terrington; standing out of the marsh all of them; an evidence of the faith of those who in the great labour for themselves (for the churches were all built under the banks and dykes they had made) did not forget the greater works for the glory of Him who protected them.

THE MAKING OF LYNN.

As far as I am able I have now taken the enclosure of Marshland, with its division into townships, its droves to the great common, and its in-banks as a last protection from the flood.

We have followed on with the subsequent reclaiming of

18

the Wiggenhall, with its own separate tracks to its own fen and its banks, a smaller province of the Marsh.

The interest of the two became the same: the government of the whole was made in common by its jurors and Commission of Sewers, and so ancient was this that the whole became a hundred of itself. In ecclesiastical affairs it was a separate rural deanery. But still the Lin was left, and the tide daily flowed over its sands, rippling in the sun, and its waters lashing the banks which had been raised to exclude them, as if angry at the power that kept them back.

I must refer you to the Map No. 1, where you will see the effect of all I have to this time written, and if you will kindly look to that map you will see how naturally everything lies round the "Lin." The map is not made by me, but by nature—the lines of it tell the tale itself—the brown is the Marshland—the violet is the township of Wiggenhall—the blue is the Lin, left after the enclosure of both—and you will see (for I am now describing my subject by the map) that the Ouse in its course to the sea, after the manner of rivers, throws up a "bar" at its mouth; that formed dry land, which was the last intake of Marshland. "Clenchwarton," a township by this very name, guarded by the banks; when that had been enclosed, or before; the river by the same order of nature had thrown up another barrier at Eau Brink; that also became dry land, and was taken in with the Wiggenhalls. The banks of Clenchwarton are the borders of the "Lin." The great North Sea Bank at Eau Brink is the guard at the then mouth of the river—but a branch of the Lin went into a kind of gulf upwards; probably it was the flowing of the Nar into it that made this gulf. It was stopped here by the Polver Dyke—the "Pulber Ditch" of the olden time. The westward side of this

kind of gulf was guarded by a bank, the site of which is still called the "long ramparts"—its soil having gone in bricks, or on the land, long since.¹

On to the east or land side of it, the waters of the Lin flowed up to the high lands. There was a break between the townships of Runcton and Watlington, through which the "Nar" passed, and we see how the names really write history. Just where the Nar goes into the Lin was a harbour called "Seech Hithe," now gone into "Setch," and across this break there was a causeway. The Lin never flowed over it, for on the other or land side of the causeway there is (but for draining) a great inland lake, and around it and close on its southern border of high land were the monasteries of Pentney, Wormegay, Marham, Shouldham, and Blackborough.²

The taking in of the Lin is very simple; the first was the enclosure of the gulf going up to Watlington—this is still apparent, both on the land and in name, for it is called the "short ramparts." The banks are gone, like the long ramparts. It ran from the corner of the North Sea Bank, which it continues as it were up to the higher land of West Winch. The next intake was

¹ See Map No. 1.

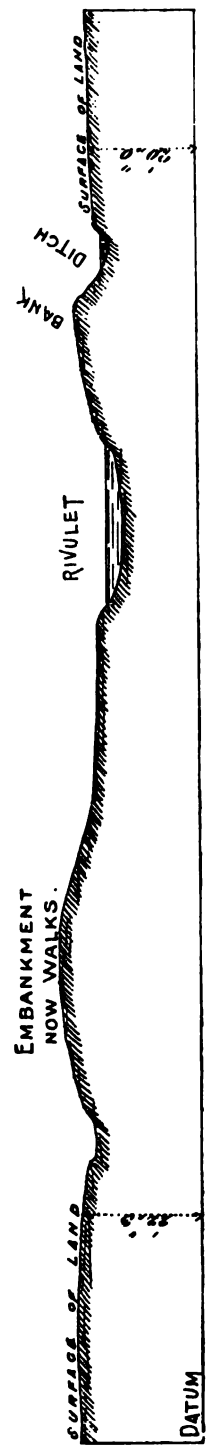
² I may here mention, as I am on the boundaries of the "Lin," that on the other or sea side of the causeway is a ridge or beach of sand under the grass, shewing where the waters of the "Lin" broke. As it retired, the hamlet of Seech became settled, Seech being pure Saxon for a site on a watery edge—and hence "Seech Hithe." The Lin did not go quite up to the higher land at West Winch—for the inhabitants had encroached on it, and formed a bank in front, now existing and forming West Winch Common and Hardwick Narrows—for wherever the "Lin" went it still retains its name in the three divisions of North, West, and South Lynn. There was there a kind of promontory of high land stretching seawards—on this the Hardwick road was put: that was the parish of Runcton: where it dipped downwards it was washed by the "Lin" ("South Lynn.")

"THE MAKING OF LYNN"
by E.M.B.

Nº 5. TRANSVERSE SECTION ON LYNN WALKS NORTH OF RED MOUNT.

WEST

EAST



See Map No. 2.



by a bank going seawards from the North Sea Bank, and the enclosure was completed there by a dyke running east and west, now called Crome's Bank, and in later times by the One Mile Bank. All these are apparent on the map, and are marked by their names. The last and final work was the putting of the river Ouse into its course, and this is shown by the eastern bank of the Ouse: and I must beg your special attention to it as it passes to the east or back of the present town of Lynn, joining the bank of the Lin to the northward at Gaywood and Wootton.

The waters of the Lin had washed up to that bank, which is the bank of your Walks, and which ends at Purfleet. All northward of Purfleet was still the "Lin."³

It is clearly seen by the old test, the land to the seaward of the bank is much higher than the ground on the land or Gaywood side—this silting up in front of the marsh on the seaside of that bank formed the ground on which Lynn rose, exactly opposite to the manor and settlement of Gaywood.⁴ This greatly affected our future history.

I must now ask you to look specially at the Map No. 2.

Through this bank ran two rivers—one had its outlet by what is now Millfleet, and the other by Purfleet; and perhaps it was the fresh water flowing through these which first attracted the settlers between them. To the north of Purfleet was still the Lin; the sea lapped its banks. By the side of these streams and of the great river, which was then enclosed, and continued by the name of the Ouse, the settlers came and built their wharves and houses on the marsh, opposite the Bishop's manor of Gaywood.

³ See Map No. 2.

⁴ See Section No. 5.

We have been talking solely of the waters, but one great element, in my opinion, that called up the settlement of the town, was that the land came to the water of the Lin in a kind of promontory, as at Runceton, for it is as necessary to a town that it should have communication with the country behind it as with the river and sea in front of it. From Gayton to the edge of the Lin ran the great road to Gaywood.⁵ The prefix "Gay," as I have shown, means way or road.

This road is seven miles in length, and put the settlers on the marsh at Lynn in communication with the great system of roads which led, as I have shown in a previous paper, all over England. I want very much to impress upon you that it was the convenience of this inland communication that made Lynn what it is; and where it dipped down to the Lin stood the ancient settlement of Gaywood.⁶

The camp is on this promontory of Gaywood, the fragments of which remain. They are only half-a-mile behind the eastern bank, that shut out the waters of the Lin. Those earthworks were the protection of the settlement of the Bishops of the East Anglians, before the Conquest. It belonged to the Bishops of Thetford and Norwich. It might have been a settlement of the heathen aborigines, for there is no history before it. The Bishops watched the sea receding seaward of

⁵ See "The Great Fen Road."—*Proceedings of the Cambridge Archaeological Society*, vol. vii. 112.

⁶ The course of the road into the olden settlement of "Lyn," between the Purfleet and Millfleet, is well marked. It entered by the East Gate, always the more important one, through Littleport, then turning to the left, southward, it ran on a high embankment, lowered, in my time, for the station and St. John's church, into Lynn over the Purfleet, there called Cloughfleet. The Littleport was continued westward over the then unenclosed marsh by a bank or dam, which after formed the street called Dam-Gate. The course of the road is marked A on Plan No. 2.

the bank; they watched the lining of the shores of the Lin with the wharves and dwellings of the merchants. The foreshore on which these rested was the property of the Bishops; they claimed it as their own; and until their grasp gave way in the fifteenth century, the history of Lynn is the history of the domination of the Church.

We are now dealing with the building of Lynn outside the bank.⁷ I do not claim any great antiquity for this settlement, which became Lynn. It is not mentioned in *Domesday*, and we know that the Angles lived in their village settlements, and were very unlikely to develop commerce. My opinion, and it is nothing more, is that it was not largely developed at the time of the Conquest.

In the year 1091 the bishopric was held by a man of high mental power—Herbert de Lozinga,⁸ or Herbert of Lorraine. Gaywood was his manor in right of his bishopric, and Lynn in right of his manor.

The first thing this Bishop did for Lynn, and it is the first mention that we have of Lynn at all, is that he built a church there. These are the words of his address to the people of Norfolk and Suffolk, now remaining in the Cathedral Treasury at Norwich:—"Whereas I have begun to build a church at Lynn," says the great Bishop; and he asks the inhabitants of Norfolk and Suffolk to help him in his work. It is the first church that was built in Lynn, and is now the church of St. Margaret. He issued a second call to the people of Norfolk and Suffolk, in almost the same words. We

⁷ This bank is the Guanock. The Gua is the same as War (Guard) and Knock, a hill or bank. This correctly describes the work which afterwards formed the fortification of the old town. The Red Mount is built on the Guanock hill; the bridge over Millfleet is the old Guanock Bridge; and the old gate was the Guanock Gate.

⁸ See "Herbert de Lozinga," *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. viii. 282.

have no other date for this, except that of his bishopric, between 1091—1119. Before the year 1146 the chapel of St. James' was built, the works of which remained till the last few years.

Hitherto I have been left to conjecture as to the time that any part of the enclosure of Marshland or of the Wiggshall took place. I now come to the last enclosure of the Lin. Of this we have record, and it is to the incident of the erection of a church that this interesting event has been preserved.

The Bishop after Herbert was Eborard. Probably he built the chapel of St. James, in the soke of the monks, for it must be remembered that after Herbert built his church of St. Margaret, he gave it to the Monastery of Norwich by its foundation charter. And in a second charter he gives, not only the church of St. Margaret, but the soc or right of government of Lynn to the Monks of Norwich. These early bishops were all distinguished men.

After this the inhabitants of Lynn increased over their borders, and an extension was required; and to meet this want, Turbus, the third bishop of Norwich, laid out this part for building. To this time it was a marsh, over which the tide ebbed and flowed to Purfleet. On this northern marsh Turbus built the chapel of St. Nicholas, which he granted to the Monks of Norwich as his predecessor had the church of St. Margaret.

He recites that he had built it in his own liberty, and, therefore, not in the liberty Herbert had given to the Monks; and on the new land which he had laid out for habitation, "*in fundo nostro de Lynna in nova terra nostra quam de novo providimus habitandam*"; and we shall see, by what follows, it is called the nova terra, "the new londe." (See Map No. 2).

Now this "nova terra" of the Bishop outside the

soke of the Monks is set out in a terrier of the time of Edward I. The streets can still be traced, shewing clearly that this new land was that part of the town north of Purfleet, coloured brown on the Map No. 2. The Bishop fortified it, for the stone walls of Lynn only extended from the north of Purfleet. At the head of Purfleet was a place known as the Walls End. (See Map No. 2.)⁹

Here, then, we have the foundation of the town upon the marsh, intersected by its rivers, and which became, in the middle ages, one of the great seats of national exports.

In the old town we find the parish church, the chapel of St. James, now gone; the hall of the Trinity Guild, of the Hause town, and the public buildings. Through it ran the Purfleet,¹ in Latin the "Portus fleta," the fleet of the port. At the end of the Purfleet was the Chequer, the local name for the Exchange, the Bishop's Staithe, and the toll-booth for the receipt of the Bishop's dues.² It was the entrance to the port of Lynn. Outside of the old town there was no public building. These were all on the south side of the Purfleet. The grand chapel of St. Nicholas, founded for the use of the new land, is the only great building.³ It was rebuilt in the fifteenth century, and now ranks with the finest parochial buildings of the kingdom.

The market of the old town was the Saturday Market, and given by name by Herbert's Charter to the

⁹ The Map No. 2 is copied from the carefully executed map of Lynn at the corner of Mylne's Map of 1795, and is therefore before the alterations of this century, which have much changed the town.

¹ Purfleet, and not the street, divided the wards of the new town from the old.

² I have told of this in the sketch of *Our Borough*.

³ Save St. George's Hall.

Monastery of Norwich, and the Bishop on his new land put the Tuesday Market, as it is now, between the years 1146 and 1171, and this accounts for the unusual fact of two market places in one town—the one in the old town, and the other in the new land; the last taken from the Lin: thus our position stands at one with our records.

I have finished the "Making of Lynn." I have elsewhere written⁴ of its history—of its feuds with the bishops—of the development of its municipal government, the rise of its commerce, and its struggle for liberty against its overlords.⁵ Its people have left a record of their energy in the remains of the merchants' palaces that line the rivers; in the ruins of the grand religious foundations, raised in the time of their wealth; and in the halls of their merchants' guilds. All this is of the past, but we live in the memory of that great past, and are proud of the men whose power shut out the sea from the marshes and the Lin, and raised the town, whose towers gleam in the sunset over the fertile country her people have recovered and still preserve.

⁴ *Our Borough*, by E. M. B.

⁵ At Gaywood and Castle Rising.

APPENDIX.

Extracts from the Proceedings of the Committee and at General Meetings.

April 8th, 1892. MR HUDSON exhibited an alabaster fragment found at Caistor by Norwich, of unknown use.

Also a Copper Token found in Rose Lane, Norwich, at Messrs. Boulton and Paul's Works. Obverse, a rose and crown V.R. EK. VILLA. Reverse, John Smithson, Robert Barber, Churchwardens, 1657.

DR. BENSLY read a report as to repairs to the Gatehouse at St. Benet's Abbey, from the Surveyor of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who had agreed to execute them at a cost of about £90.

Also he reported that the Churchwardens of St. John Maddermarket, Norwich, had given some panels from the roof to the Museum.

Also that the bosses in the south transept of the Cathedral had been uncovered by the Dean and Chapter. Photographs were exhibited, the subjects being some of the Miracles of our Lord, and the Arms of the See and of Bishop Nix.

Also that a Mural Painting had been uncovered on the north side of the Presbytery, of a Cross and the Blessed Virgin and St. John, with inscriptions. They were mentioned in Browne's *Repertorium*.

May 4th, 1892. Committee Meeting and Annual Meeting. MR. F. DANBY PALMER presented a large-

paper copy of *Leaves from the Diary and Journals of the late C. J. Palmer, F.S.A.*

The Transcript of Tanner's *Norfolk Collections* made by Mr. Tallack, bound in three volumes, was laid on the table, and directed to be kept in the Society's library for the use of members and other students.

June 1st, 1892. A circular was received from the Science and Art Department respecting buildings having painted decorations not entered in Mr. Keyser's List of 1883. It was agreed that a letter be inserted in the county newspapers enquiring for such examples.

An Index made by Mr. Tallack to the Registers of St. Saviour's Church, Norwich, was laid on the table.

July 26th, 1892. General Meeting at Norwich. A Swan Roll, containing many Norfolk Marks, was exhibited and commented on by the Rev. J. W. Millard.

September 8th, 1892. General Meeting at Lynn. Mr. Somerville Gurney exhibited an Urn and Food Vessel (? Saxon) found on the site of the old Rectory at North Runton.

October 12th, 1892. MR. MANNING reported, from information of the Rev. W. G. Browne, that two bases of crosses, supposed to be boundary crosses, were in a ditch at West Walton. One is highly ornamented. It is proposed to raise them and have them photographed.

DR. BENSLY reported that the Cross at North Walsham commemorating the Litster Rebellion in the time of Bishop Spencer was out of repair, and he had communicated with Mrs. Petre, who had undertaken the care of it. The Rev. R. J. Simpson of Metton had first brought the matter to the notice of the Secretaries.

DR. RAVEN reported that an old Font had been found in a moat at Whittingham Hall in Fressingfield, supposed to have belonged to a Free Chapel there. It has since been presented to a new church at Hunstanton.

Great regret was expressed at the recent death of Mr. T. R. Tallack, who had rendered most valuable assistance to the Society. It was agreed that £5 be given to Mrs. Tallack for certain MSS. of her late husband.

January 18th, 1893. Thanks were ordered to be returned to the Rev. F. Procter for eight more volumes of *Parish Registers* in north-east Norfolk, copied by him.

MR. HUDSON presented a copy of his *Leet Jurisdiction in the City of Norwich*, edited by him for the Selden Society. Also a copy of *Rental of the Houses in Gloucester, 1455*. Also Corbridge's and King's Maps of Norwich framed.

At the same time the excellent copy of the very scarce Cleer's Map of Norwich in 1696, given to the Society by the Rev. W. Howard Frere, appropriately framed, was shewn to the Committee.

March 24th, 1893. Dr. Bensly exhibited a coin or token of St. Mark, Venice, in silver, some copper jettons, and a Yarmouth farthing dated 1667, all found in a garden in the Cathedral Close; also a copper (?) piece with the date 1278 in Arabic numerals and a double triangle, found near the West Front of the Cathedral. The coin was proved to be modern Arabic of 1861, the date, 1278, being computed from the Hegira.

April 17th, 1893. Annual Meeting at Norwich. GENERAL BULWER exhibited a money box inlaid with gilt, presented by Charles I. before his execution to Sir Edward

Deering, and a curious old watch belonging to the Deering family, and said to be of the time of Queen Elizabeth. DR. JESSOPP exhibited a brass key supposed to have belonged to the Abbot of Bromholm.

June 2nd, 1893. MR. HUDSON exhibited some MS. Rolls of Thirne and Thurgarton Manors belonging to the Abbot of St. Benet, obtained from the Executors of Mr. Bayfield. They were of the 5th Richard II., and contained the names and holdings of all the copyhold tenants, who were re-admitted at a court held after the recent Peasant Revolt, in which all the existing Rolls had been burnt. Mr. Manning reported that another Medieval Paten had been found at Lessingham, making the thirty-fourth.

November 15th, 1893. MR. HUDSON exhibited a Clog Almanack formerly in possession of the Rev. Canon W. F. Patteson, of St. Helen's, Norwich.

Letters were read from Captain King and Mr. G. Wilkinson of Holt, on the dangerous state of the ruined tower of Eccles by the Sea; and from the Rev. E. J. Alvis, on the ruins of Bawsey Church, near Lynn.

MR. MANNING exhibited a drawing and rubbing of a stone in the north aisle of Redenhall Church, with indents of two chalices on the same stone, c. 1520.

DR. BATELY exhibited some bricks with a hollow channel running through them, found in Row 93 at Yarmouth, eighteen inches below the surface of the ground, and extending for about 170 feet. Each brick measured $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length by $4\frac{3}{4}$ in breadth, and $2\frac{3}{4}$ in height.

DR. BENSLY reported that some Romano-British Pottery had been found by Mr. Green of Caistor Hall on his grounds, near Caistor Camp, by Norwich.

March 12th, 1894. MR. F. DANBY PALMER exhibited a silver Venetian coin of the sixteenth century, found on the beach at Eccles by the Sea; obverse, the lion of St. Mark and a kneeling figure, SMVENIM: RINGRIMAN DVX; reverse, a Saint with palm branch, MEMOR ERO TVI IVSTINA VIRGO, 124.

A box of eighteenth century tokens, preserved at Thorpe Hall, was presented to the Society by Mrs. Cubitt.

Mr. Farrer having offered to be at the expense, through a friend, of restoring the Necton Brasses from the Hall to the Church, it was agreed that the Secretary should write to Mr. Harvey Mason for his consent.

MR. J. C. TINGEY exhibited, from Mrs. Nichols of Surrey Street, a small Communion Cup and Paten Cover with London marks and black letter I in plain shield; maker's mark a hemisphere or astronomical globe.

April 27th, 1894. Committee Meeting. MR. CREENY exhibited a silver ring with a merchant's mark and S.E.E., c. 1600.

Annual Meeting. MR. BOARDMAN exhibited some pieces of pottery, including a small Bellarmine, found in excavating for buildings in Prince's Street, Norwich.

June 29th, 1894. MR. HUDSON exhibited some Town Reeve Accounts of the parish of Alburgh, near Harleston, from 1620-1758, lent by the Rev. C. W. Löhr.

DR. BENSLY reported that remains of a rood screen and rood beam of Horstead Church were now in the Rectory Barn there.

October 17th, 1894. MR. MANNING sent for exhibition a Posy Ring, lent to him by Mr. Pitt. It had an inscription, "Pour Elle (je) Souffre."

January 30th, 1895. Notice was taken of the fact that the tower of Eccles Church had been overthrown in a great gale and high tide on January 23rd. The steps which had been taken for its preservation are recorded in a paper by Mr. F. Danby Palmer, published in this volume of the Society's Original Papers.

A letter was read from MR. MANNING announcing his desire to resign the office of Hon. Secretary, which he had held for forty-three years. The intimation was received by the Committee with great regret.

April 3rd, 1895. DR. BENSLY read a letter from the Rev. W. H. Sewell of Yaxley, concerning the Vicar General's Absolution to Sir R. Gresham, recently found among the Tanner MSS., at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Mr. Sewell was requested to obtain a copy, and he undertook to write a paper for the Society's Publications.

April 24th, 1895. Annual Meeting. DR. BENSLY exhibited, by permission of Mrs. Green of Caistor Hall, some Roman silver imperial coins recently discovered outside the Camp, and fragments of the urn in which they were contained. The most rare coin appeared to be one of the Emperor Otho's reign, A.D. 69.

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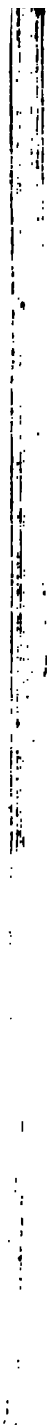
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Wansbrough, Rev. Henry Arthur, M.A.

New Walsingham, Norfolk
Wanstall, Rev. Charles Luther

Mautby Rectory, Great Yarmouth
Ward, David Hamond Lodge, Lynn

Wartlers, W. S. Magdalen Street, Norwich
Warren, Rev. John Walter Corbould, LL.B.

Tacolnestone Old Hall, Wymondham
Waters, John Tolver

Nelson Road South, Great Yarmouth
Waters, William George

7, Mansfield Street, Portland Place, London
Wellingham, John East Walton, Lynn

Whalley, Rev. Pryor Buxton, M.A.
East Wretham Rectory, Thetford

Whayman, Horace W.
Orford, Wickham Market, Suffolk

White, Rev. Charles Harold Evelyn, F.S.A.
Christ Church Vicarage, Chesham

Whitehead, Rev. Edward Ernest Wolff, M.A.
Reedham, Great Yarmouth

Whitney, Rev. James Pounder, M.A.

Hempstead Rectory, Stalham
Williams, Charles, F.R.C.S.

Prince of Wales' Road, Norwich
Wilson, Rev. James, M.A.

Barking Rectory, Needham Market
Wilson, Rev. William Greive, M.A.

Fornett St. Peter Rectory, Long Stratton
Winter, Rev. Edward George Adlington, M.A.

The Vicarage, Lynn
Wood, Colonel, C.B.

85, Thorpe Road, Norwich
Woods, Sir Albert W., Garter King of Arms,

College of Arms, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
Woods, William Henry

Prince of Wales' Road, Norwich
Worledge, Edward William

Albert Square, Great Yarmouth
Wright, W. E., West Hall, Middleton, Lynn

Wrigley, R. Regent Road, Great Yarmouth

Youell, Edward Pitt

Gorleston, Great Yarmouth
Youell, Miss Maude

Gorleston, Great Yarmouth
Young, Rev. John

Walsoken Rectory, Wisbech
Youngman, A. W.

93, St. George's Road, Great Yarmouth

REGULATIONS.

1. THAT the Society shall be called "THE NORFOLK AND NORWICH ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY."

2. That the object of the Society shall be to collect the best information on the Arts and Monuments of the County, including Primeval Antiquities; Numismatics; Architecture, Civil and Ecclesiastical; Sculpture; Painting on Walls, Wood, or Glass; Civil History and Antiquities, comprising Manors, Manorial Rights, Privileges and Customs; Descent; Genealogy; Ecclesiastical History or Endowments, and Charitable Foundations; Records, &c., and all other matters usually comprised under the head of Archæology.

3. That the Officers of the Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and a Committee of eighteen.

4. That all such Antiquities as shall be given to the Society, shall be presented to the Norwich Museum.

5. That six of the Committee shall go out annually in rotation, but with the power of being re-elected; and also that the Committee shall supply any vacancy that may occur in their number during the year.

6. That the President, Vice-Presidents, and Treasurer and Secretaries, be elected at the Annual General Meeting for one year, with power of being re-elected, and shall be ex-officio members of the Committee.

7. That any person desirous to become a Member of this Society, shall be proposed by at least two of its Members, at either a General or Committee Meeting.

8. That every Member shall pay the Annual Subscription of Seven Shillings and Sixpence, to be due in advance on the first of January.

9. That distinguished Antiquaries, not connected with the County, may be elected as Honorary Members, at any of the General or Committee Meetings of the Society, on being proposed by two of the Members.

10. That four General Meetings shall be held in the year, at such times and places as shall be from time to time determined by the Committee.

11. That such short Papers shall be read at the Meetings as the Committee shall previously approve of, and that the Meetings shall conclude with the exhibition of, and discussion on, such subjects of interest or curiosity as Members may produce.

12. That the Committee may, on such occasions as they shall think necessary, call Special Meetings by advertisement.

13. That the Accounts shall be audited, and a statement of the affairs of the Society shall be given at the first General Meeting in the year.

14. That the Committee shall meet from time to time, to receive information and make such arrangements as may be necessary, preparatory to the General Meetings. That three shall be a quorum, and that the Chairman shall have the casting vote.

15. That a short Annual Report of the Proceedings of the Society shall be laid before the General Meeting, and that a list of Members shall be printed from time to time.

16. That all papers deposited in the archives of this Society shall be considered the property of the Society: but that it shall be optional with the Committee to receive communications from Members, who are writing with other objects in view, and to return the same, after perusal, to the author.

17. That the Committee shall have the power of making By-Laws, which shall remain in force till the next General Meeting.

18. That the Committee shall have the power of publishing such papers and engravings, at the Society's expense, as may be deemed worthy of being printed; that each Subscriber shall be entitled to a copy of such publication, either gratis or at such price as the funds of the Society will admit, from the time of his admission; and to such further copies, and previous publications (if there be any in hand), at a price to be fixed by the Committee; that the author of such published papers shall be entitled to fifteen copies, gratis; and that the Committee shall have the power to make such arrangements for re-printing any of the parts of the Society's Papers, when out of print, as they may deem most conducive to the interest of the Society.

19. That the Society in its pursuits shall be confined to the County of Norfolk.



NORFOLK AND NORWICH

Archæological Society.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1891.

READ ON 4TH MAY, 1892.

THE Committee of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society are able once more to place before the Members a favourable Report of the condition and progress of the Society.

During the past year the General Meetings of the Members and their friends have been held as usual.

At the Annual Meeting in the Guildhall on April 15th, 1891, in the absence of the President, the chair was taken by the Mayor of Norwich (E. Wild, Esq.). After the election of Officers for the ensuing year and the transaction of other business, Dr. Jessopp gave an address on the "Outlook of Norfolk Archæology."

On June 5th the Excursion in the City of Norwich was held, and the following churches and places of interest were visited:—the Churches of St. Edmund, St. James, St. Paul, St. Saviour, and (in the afternoon) St. Giles; together with the sites of the Boys' Hospital, the Convent of the Carmelite Friars, Norman's Hospital,

Doughty's Hospital, and the dissolved Churches of All Saints, St. Margaret, St. Botolph, and St. Mary Unbrent. Chapel Field and the City Wall enclosed in the Gardens were also inspected. At the four churches visited in the morning, architectural notes were read, which had been prepared by Mr. H. J. Green. Papers were also contributed by the Rev. W. Hudson, on "The District of Fibriggate"; Dr. Bensly, on "The Carmelite Friars" and "Norman's Hospital"; Mr. Mark Knights, on "The Boys' Hospital"; and Mr. H. J. Martin, on "St. Saviour's Parish." St. Giles' Church and Parish were described in the afternoon by Sir Peter Eade, who, with Lady Eade, kindly entertained the large party of visitors in their house before the close of the day's proceedings. It is with a feeling of something akin to regret that the Committee have to report that the next excursion will exhaust, for the present, this pleasant field of research. The Norwich Excursions were commenced in 1881. Their popularity has continuously increased, they have always been well attended, and have never failed to attract new members. It is the simple truth also to state that they have led to a very marked increase of true archæological study. Possibly the Members of the Society may not be indisposed to begin the perustration again. Two reasons may be adduced in favour of such a course: since 1881 a great variety of sources of information have been opened up, and local students have learned not only to value but to use them; and then the sad thought occurs to all that twelve years in these days of rapid change sweep away many relics of the past with ruthless haste in a busy city, and every year leaves something less to see, compelling the archæologist to imagine what once existed, instead of being able to inspect the past in something of its substantial reality.

The County Excursion was held on July 30th. The

party met at Wymondham in the Grammar School (formerly Becket's Chapel), and then visited the Parish Church, with its well-known remains of the Church of the Benedictine Priory. At both places Dr. Jessopp explained the history and the architectural details. From Wymondham the party proceeded to Deopham and Hingham. At the latter place a paper was read by the Rev. J. Barham Johnson.

The Winter Evening Meeting at the Guildhall, Norwich, on December 14th, was rendered specially interesting by the return of the President, after a lengthened tour in India, Japan, and the neighbouring countries. He very kindly brought for exhibition a large collection of specimens of native art and manufacture—some of them being of undoubted antiquity—and pointed out the various points of interest in the most important of them. A paper was then read by Mr. L. G. Bolingbroke on "Pre-Elizabethan Plays and Players in Norfolk and Norwich." This paper has been printed in the Society's Original Papers. The evening concluded by Dr. Jessopp shewing and commenting on some valuable antiquities found in the course of some recent excavations on the site of a Saxon Cemetery at Castle Acre.

The Committee are able to report during the past year a considerable amount of work done, both in the publication of volumes for the Members and the transcription of valuable documents for reference. The Index to the first ten volumes of the Society's Original Papers, prepared by the Rev. C. R. Manning, was issued to the Members last summer, in addition to Part II. of Volume XI. previously issued at the beginning of the year. The Norfolk Inquisitions offered to the Society by Mr. Rye were then proceeded with, as well as the concluding part of Volume XI. The preparation of these three publications in the year caused some delay in the

completion of the annual Part of the Society's Papers. The whole is now finished and issued. The Inquisitions have been formed into a second volume of the *Norfolk Records*, commenced by the late Mr. Walford D. Selby, which with Part III. of Volume XI. has been issued to subscribers for 1891.

Besides these publications the Committee have, from time to time, employed Mr. T. R. Tallack in finishing the transcript of the Norfolk portion of Tanner's Collections for the Diocese of Norwich. It has been securely bound in four volumes, and will be accessible to Members on application to the Assistant Secretary, Mr. Quinton, at the Norfolk and Norwich Library. By the help of an index any desired parish may at once be found, and in the explanation of the various signs and references used by the learned compiler, the searcher will have an advantage not hitherto obtainable by those who have consulted the original MS. For a great deal of this explanatory glossary, as well as for the general excellence of the transcript, the thanks of the Society are due to Mr. Tallack. He has also, under the direction of the Society, been engaged in transcribing a considerable portion of the Registers of the Sacrist and of St. Mary in the Marsh (or St. Luke's Chapel) in the Cathedral. The special value of this transcript for purposes of reference is in the register of marriages. Prior to 1754 it was a very common custom for persons to obtain a license to marry at a church in a parish to which neither of the parties belonged. Hence the difficulty in tracing these marriages. As might be supposed, a marriage in Norwich Cathedral was a popular proceeding, and these registers therefore are full of the marriages of members of leading families from all parts of the county. This transcript also is finished, and when bound may be consulted by Members of the Society.

When the Norfolk County Council came into possession of the Records formerly in the hands of the County Magistrates, the President of this Society, as Chairman of the Record Committee, obtained permission to have them sorted and examined. At his request the Rev. W. Hudson and Mr. Tallack undertook to do so, and with the assistance of Mr. Hamon le Strange, they arranged them all chronologically and classified them, each Roll being placed in a paper wrapper and labelled with its character and date. They were found to consist chiefly of indictments and other miscellaneous business transacted before the magistrates in Quarter Sessions. Amongst them, however, was found a series of bundles of apparently an unusual character, containing Enrolments of Deeds of Conveyance of properties belonging to leading county families. They extend from about 1550 to 1660. As the originals of many of these deeds may possibly now be lost, the Committee, at the suggestion of the President and with the permission of the Clerk of the Council, are arranging for Mr. Tallack to make a Calendar of them, in order that their contents may be known.

After the death of the late Mr. C. J. W. Winter, the Committee acquired a valuable series of seventy-six drawings which he had made of the principal bosses in the north walk of the Cathedral cloister. It should also be noted that the brown wash on the stone vaulted roof of the Cathedral Transept is in course of removal, under the direction of the Dean and Chapter. The bosses at the intersections of the ribs of the vaulting are found to consist of boldly executed sculptures, with much of the original colour and gilding remaining. A careful examination of the bosses is being made whilst the scaffolding is in position.

Much anxiety has been expressed of late by visitors,

and by the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, concerning the decaying condition of the well-known Gateway of St. Benet's Abbey. A representation on the subject was made by the Bishop of Norwich, through Dr. Bensly, to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. This representation was energetically supported by the Committee of the Great Yarmouth Branch of the Society, and, as a result, the Commissioners have given orders to have various works done, with a view to preserve the ruins of the Gateway and of the Abbey Church from further decay.

The Yarmouth Branch of the Society continues to prosper and to do much useful work. Excursions have been made and meetings held, and any relics of antiquity which may be revealed in altering houses are carefully photographed and copies preserved. This is an example worthy of imitation. The Branch now numbers 100 Members, nearly all of whom are also Members of the Parent Society.

The Committee feel that, amongst the records of the past year, special mention should be made of the munificent gift made to the Norwich Museum by their former Hon. Secretary and Treasurer, Mr. Fitch. None will reap the benefit of this generous donation more than the Members of this Society, with whose tastes Mr. Fitch so thoroughly sympathizes. The President at once wrote in the name of the Society to Mr. Fitch to express their sense of the value of his gift. The Committee have reason to know, that amongst the congratulations which reached the generous donor from many quarters, none were more appreciated than those offered to him on behalf of a Society in which he has taken so deep an interest. It is the hope of all the Members that he may yet be spared to see his collections arranged in their future abode.

The Committee regret to record the death recently of the Ven. Archdeacon Blakelock, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, and for many years an interested and active Member.

The Members of the Committee who retire by rotation are Mr. E. M. Beloe, Rev. E. Farrer, Mr. J. Mottram, Rev. J. W. Millard, Mr. R. H. Inglis Palgrave, and Mr. C. Williams, all of whom are eligible for re-election.

NORFOLK AND NORWICH

Archæological Society.

REPORT FOR 1892.

READ APRIL 17TH, 1893.

THE Committee beg leave to lay before the Members of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society a Report of the proceedings and work of the Society during the past year.

The last Annual Meeting was held in the Guildhall on May 4th, 1892, the chair being taken by General Bulwer. After the reading of the Annual Report and the election of the Officers and Committee, the Members and their friends paid another visit to the Castle, to inspect the progress of the work being carried on there.

The City Excursion took place on July 26th, and proved to be one of varied interest. Meeting in the neighbourhood of Tombland, where papers were read by the Rev. W. Hudson on "Tombland and its Story," and by Mr. E. A. Tillett on the "Church of St. George," the party went to the garden of the Bishop's Palace. Here the Rev. Sidney Pelham gave a description of the ruin called "Bishop Salmon's Gateway," supposed to have been the porch of the Bishop's great hall. After the reading of the paper, in which Mr. Pelham had

pleaded for the preservation of this interesting and beautiful specimen of early Decorated work, a discussion took place as to the best means of attaining that object. Passing down towards Bishop's Bridge, the Cow Tower and the bridge were described by Mr. J. W. Howard. The party then ascended the steep hill on the opposite side of the river, and under the guidance of Dr. Bensly were conducted to the site, and such slight relics as remain, of St. Leonard's Priory and the Chapel of St. Michael on the Mount, now known as "Kett's Castle." In connection with St. Leonard's Priory Dr. Bensly mentioned two Inventories of MSS. and Books dated 1422 and 1452-3, preserved among the Cathedral muniments, and it is hoped that he will furnish the Members with a descriptive account of the Priory, and especially of these valuable documents. A visit to the site of the Lollards' Pit was followed by a tea, kindly provided by the Rev. J. H. and Mrs. Rogers, in the grounds of Thorpe Hamlet Vicarage, after which the Rev. J. W. Millard exhibited and described a very full Swan Roll of 1598.

The exigencies of the General Election somewhat disturbed the proposals for our Summer Excursion, which was finally carried out on September 8th and 9th. For some time back a strong desire had been expressed by several Members of the Society to visit the churches of Lynn Marshland, a project which involved spending a night at Lynn. After much consideration this wish was accomplished, and, favoured as it was with splendid weather, a more enjoyable and instructive excursion could not have been made. Those who joined in it were much indebted to Mr. E. M. Beloe for his trouble in making the necessary local arrangements and conducting the large party through the two days' excursion. The exceptionally fine series of churches for which the

district is famous, have been so often and so fully described that it is unnecessary to do more than recall the route which was followed on this occasion. The start was made from Wisbech Station, and the first church visited was that of Walsoken. Then followed West Walton, Walpole St. Peter, Walpole St. Andrew, and Terrington St. Clement. A stop was made at Clenchwarton Rectory, where refreshments were courteously offered by the Rev. C. U. and Mrs. Manning. At most of the churches observations were made by Mr. Beloe and the Rev. C. R. Manning, and at West Walton by the Rev. W. E. Browne. At Terrington a paper was read by Dr. Seccombe, which has been printed in the current number of the Society's collections. A dinner at the Duke's Head, Lynn, was presided over by Sir Francis Boileau, President of the Society; and in the evening the Mayor (W. R. Pridgeon, Esq.) gave a reception in the Assembly Room of the Town Hall. The Corporation Plate, Charters, and other documents were exhibited, and addresses were given by Mr. Manning on "Lynn Plate-marks," Mr. Beloe on the "Making of Marshland," and Dr. Jessopp on the "Value of Archæological Studies." On the following day the places visited included Tilney All Saints, Terrington St. John, Wiggenhall St. Mary, St. Mary's Hall, Wiggenhall St. German, and Wiggenhall St. Mary Magdalen. At Wiggenhall St. Mary the visitors were courteously entertained by the Rev. H. J. Halls.

The Winter Evening Meeting was unavoidably postponed until Jan. 31st, 1893. Like the other meetings and excursions of the past year it was well attended and most successful. It was held in the Grammar School, and was the occasion of a remarkably interesting and exhaustive address by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, descriptive of Castleacre Priory. Important excavations had

been recently made there under Mr. Hope's supervision. Towards the expense of these our Society (at the request of the Society of Antiquaries) made a contribution, on the understanding that Mr. Hope should give us the result for publication. This promise, it is hoped, will be fulfilled in our next issue.

Volume XII. Part I. of the Society's Original Papers has been issued to Members. The Committee deeply regret that some of the work announced in last year's Report as in progress by Mr. T. R. Tallack, was interrupted by his illness and untimely death in the course of last summer. His loss to the work of this Society, and to almost every branch of local research, is almost irreparable, not only for what he was actually doing, but for the unique capacity which he was rapidly acquiring. He had become almost equally acquainted with the contents of the Guildhall Record Room, the Diocesan Registry, the Norwich Probate Registry, and, to a large extent, with those at Ipswich, Bury St. Edmund's, and Somerset House. He was also extensively acquainted with the contents of a large number of Norfolk Parochial Registers. There were, in fact, few subjects of local enquiry in which he could not at once direct a searcher to the most likely field of research. As most of this knowledge had been acquired in the course of researches made for private persons, the MSS. and notes he left at his decease were not of such general value as might otherwise have been the case. There are, however, among them some Transcripts of Parish Registers, and notably three Indexes of Norfolk Wills, which will no doubt be of great service, and which have been purchased for the Society.

The Transcript of the Registers of the Sacrist of the Cathedral, and of St. Mary in the Marsh (St. Luke's Chapel) which Mr. Tallack was engaged on for the Society, were well advanced at his death. They have since been

finished by Mr. F. Johnson, of Great Yarmouth, down to the year 1812. They contain an immense number of marriages of persons residing in all parts of Norwich and Norfolk.

Through the kindness of Mr. J. H. Gurney, of Keswick Hall, another useful document has been added to the Society's materials for purposes of reference. At the end of Mackerell's MS. History of Norwich, in Mr. Gurney's possession, there is an alphabetical list of all the persons whose monuments then (1725) existed in the churches of Norwich. With Mr. Gurney's permission this list was copied by Mr. Hudson, and it has since been collated, by Mr. F. Johnson, with Blomefield. The Committee have also acquired the valuable MSS. of the late Mr. E. L. Blackburne, F.S.A., on the "Iconography of Norfolk" and other subjects.

The Committee have to record, with grateful thanks, a further gift from the Rev. F. Procter, of Witton, of Transcripts of eight more Parish Registers.

The Society are thus possessors of a valuable series of Transcripts of forty-one Norfolk Parish Registers, besides an alphabetical Index of the Parish Register of St. Saviour's, Norwich.

During the past year the Society of Antiquaries has issued a list of all the Parish Registers which have been published or transcribed; and also a list of Archæological Papers published by various Societies, or in other ways, during the year 1891. Some copies of these lists are in the hands of the Committee, and may be obtained from the Assistant Secretary.

The number of Subscribing Members on the recently published list of the Society is 448. The Gt. Yarmouth Branch continues its useful work, including about 100 Members, most of whom also belong to the Parent Society.

The Society has to regret the loss of one of its

"original" Members, the Rev. T. Jones, F.S.A., of Sporle, an experienced antiquary of much taste and knowledge, who had formed a large and varied collection of antiquities.

The Members of the Committee who retire by rotation this year are the Rev. W. F. Creeny, Mr. H. J. Green, the Rev. Hinds Howell, the Rev. Dr. Jessopp, Mr. Hamon le Strange, and Mr. F. Danby Palmer. They are all eligible for re-election.

BOOKS ADDED TO THE LIBRARY.

By Exchange—Publications of the following Archaeological Societies:—Surrey, Derbyshire, Somerset, Suffolk, Sussex, Kent, Cambridge.

By Gift—List of Buildings having Mural Decorations, by Department of Science and Art; Aston and Rumbold's Expenses at Gt. Yarmouth, 1831, by F. D. Palmer, Esq.; Monumental Inscriptions in Marshland Churches, by W. Rye, Esq.; Rental of Houses in Gloucester, in 1455; Leet Jurisdiction in Norwich (Selden Society, Vol. V.), by Rev. W. Hudson.

By Purchase—MSS. by the late Mr. Blackburn (three cases).

Dr. **Norfolk & Norwich Archaeological Society.**—**The Treasurer's Account, 1892.** Cr.

1892.		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
To Balance at Messrs. Gurneys' Bank :—							
General account	...	17	1	0			
Deposit (Boileau Legacy Fund)	...	72	17	10			
"	...	100	0	0			
Subscriptions :—							
1 for 1890	...	...	0	7	6		
23 for 1891	...	...	8	12	6		
296 for 1892	...	...	111	0	0		
12 for 1893	...	...	4	10	0		
One Composition for Life Membership							
"	...						
Sale of Publications :—							
Original Papers	...	3	8	6			
Emblems of Saints	...	1	5	0			
Donation from E. M. Beloe, Esq., towards cost of illustrations to his Paper on the Mortuary Cross	...						
Messrs. Gurneys & Co. :—							
Interest on Deposit Account	...	...	...	...
1892.							
By A. H. Goose for printing Vol. XII. Pt. I.	Miscellaneous printing	1	3	6			
"	" Ditto Stationery, Stamps, &c.	8	4	6			
Illustrations :—							
Griggs & Sons	...	12	0	0			
W. J. Dexter	...	0	7	6			
C. S. Alger	...	29	16	6			
W. Hall & Co.	...	2	2	0			
Advertisements of Meetings :—							
Norfolk Chronicle	...	1	3	6			
Norfolk Mercury	...	1	2	6			
Norfolk News	...	1	9	0			
Expenses of Meetings							
Mr. Robt. Jay for Excavations for Mr. J. W. Clarke, preparatory to his Paper on Norwich Cathedral	...						
Mr. W. H. St. John Hope towards cost of Excavations preparatory to his Paper on Castle Acre Priory	...						
the late Mr. T. R. Tullack for Index of St. Saviour's Registers, Norwich	...						
Purchase of the late Mr. T. R. Tullack's MSS. and Note Books	...						
Purchase of the late Mr. E. L. Blackburne's MSS.	...						
Bookbinding	...						
Postage and Carriage of Parcels	...						
Insurance	...						
N. & N. Library—One Year's Rent to Mohs, 1892	...						
Gratuity to Guildhall Keeper	...						
Assistant Secretary's Salary	...						
Balance at Messrs. Gurneys' Bank :—							
General Account	...	9	6	3			
Deposit Account	...	80	0	0			
Boileau Legacy Fund	...	100	0	0			
1892.							
£328 12 3							

Examined and found correct, April 17th, 1893.
PHILIP BACK, Auditor.



NORFOLK AND NORWICH

Archæological Society.

REPORT FOR 1893.

READ ON APRIL 27TH, 1894.

THE Committee of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society have the honour to lay before the members a Report of the Society for the year 1893.

At the Annual Meeting, held in the Guildhall, Norwich, on April 17th, Gen. Bulwer in the chair, Dr. Bensly read a paper on the recently-cleaned bosses on the roof of the Cathedral transepts, and exhibited a series of illustrative photographs. Mr. E. M. Beloe also gave a descriptive account of some of the mediæval episcopal manor-houses, especially those at Thorpe and Thornage.

On July 21st was held an unusually successful excursion, which was intended to complete the series of city excursions. It was on the river, so far as the city jurisdiction extends. Starting from Norwich by the "Jenny Lind" steamer, the members proceeded to Cantley, where they were joined by many more, and having gone as far as Hardley Cross, returned to Cantley to

luncheon. A paper was then read by the Rev. W. Hudson on "Norwich City and its River Jurisdiction." Then they went by river to Langley Abbey, where the ruins of the Abbey were visited under the guidance of Dr. Jessopp. On the way back to Norwich they landed at Thorpe Old Hall, where they were hospitably received by Major and Mrs. Cubitt, a paper on the Hall, as one of the episcopal manor-houses, being read by Mr. E. M. Beloe.

Another excursion was held on September 11th, when the members and their friends drove from Norwich to Chedgrave, Loddon, Hales Hall, Hales Church, Raveningham Church, and Gillingham Church, returning by train from Beccles. At Loddon Church a paper by the Rev. C. R. Manning was read. At Hales Hall a paper on the "Hobarts of Hales Hall" was read by Gen. Bulwer.

The Committee regret that there has been unusual delay in the issue of last year's publication, consisting of Vol. XII., Part II. It has been partly caused by the first paper being a long time on hand, and partly by the number of the illustrations being unusually large. It will be issued in a short time, and the Committee feel sure that when the members receive it they will find it to be of special value, containing, amongst others, an exhaustive paper by Mr. St. John Hope on Castle Acre Priory.

The attention of your Committee has been called to the dangerous condition of a well-known landmark on the Norfolk coast, the tower of the ruined church of Eccles by the Sea. The matter was actively taken up by Mr. Danby Palmer, the hon. secretary of our Yarmouth branch, and his Committee; and there is good prospect of steps being taken to save this interesting relic from the further encroachment of the sea. Meanwhile, Mr. Teasdel of Great Yarmouth has made a ground plan of the church when uncovered at a low tide, and Captain

King has placed at the disposal of the Society some drawings made by him some years ago. These will be published in our issue of next year.

The annual meeting of the great Yarmouth branch of the Society, which was held on February 26th, was the occasion of a most satisfactory report. It mentioned the fact that the museum at the Tolhouse was last year visited by 2907 persons, who not only paid the entrance fee, but also purchased the whole edition of 1000 copies of a "Guide" issued by the Committee of that branch. A hope, in which the parent Society heartily join, was expressed that the Yarmouth Town Council might soon see its way to provide "more suitable accommodation for museum purposes at the Tolhouse."

Your Committee feel it their duty to express their deep interest in the approaching re-opening of the choir of the Cathedral by the Archbishop of Canterbury, after the extensive work which has been carried on there for the last two years. It is impossible at present to give any opinion as to what has been done. Your Committee have been frequently appealed to for information. They have reason to believe that competent criticism will in general approve of the result. But they venture to express an opinion that any future work should be placed more directly under the control and supervision of some architect of national reputation.

The congratulations of the Society to the citizens of Norwich and the county of Norfolk on the successful completion of the Castle Museum scheme must still be reserved for another year. Meanwhile, the members of the Society may be glad to know that one portion of the work comprised in the Scheme will be proceeded with immediately. A commodious muniment room has been provided, and one of your hon. secretaries, Mr. Hudson, has been requested by the City Committee of the Town Council to

superintend the transference of the documents in a proper condition, and to arrange them so that they may be accessible to students. The origin and development of the institutions of English boroughs has of late taken a prominent place in the researches of historical students in America and Germany, as well as in England, and it is believed that the municipal records of the City of Norwich are second in importance to no others. It is appropriate that Norwich should be making this provision for the preservation and study of its records in a year marked by the 700th anniversary of its municipal independence. The Corporation are following the example already set by King's Lynn and Yarmouth, so that the county of Norfolk will soon have the advantage of possessing three most valuable series of municipal records well cared for and preserved for the use of future generations.

Mrs. Cubitt, of Thorpe Hall, has kindly presented the Society with a large collection of 18th century tokens, which have been arranged and catalogued by Mr. J. C. Tingey, of Norwich.

The Society has to regret the loss during the past year of several members. Special mention may be made of the Rev. J. Barham Johnson, formerly Vicar of Welborne. He was an able supporter of the Society's work, and was possessed of considerable architectural and mechanical skill, which was always willingly placed at the service of his neighbours and friends. The Rev. J. N. Simpkinson, Rector of North Creake, was a scholar of distinguished attainments and a corresponding member of the Society. We have also to record with regret the death of Mr. Leavins, at one time a partner in the firm of publishers who from the first have so ably printed and issued the Society's publications. It is believed that Mr. Leavins was concerned in the very first number which was issued by Messrs. Muskett in 1847.

The retiring members of the Committee are Dr. Bately, Canon Copeman, Mr. B. W. Harcourt, the Rev. A. G. Legge, Canon Raven, and Mr. Walter Rye. Mr. Legge, who is leaving Norfolk, does not wish to be re-elected. The Committee propose the re-election of the other five gentlemen, and in Mr. Legge's place they propose the name of Mr. L. G. Bolingbroke of Norwich.

Dr. **Folk and Norwich Archaeological Society.—The Treasurer's Account, 1893.** Cr.

[illegible]

**Examined and found correct,
PHILIP BAOB, Auditor.**

April 27th, 1894.

NORFOLK AND NORWICH

Archæological Society.

REPORT FOR 1894.

READ ON APRIL 24TH, 1895.

THE Committee of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society have the honour to lay before the members the Report for the year 1894.

The Annual Meeting, which was held in the Guildhall, Norwich, on April 27th, was invested with a special character, the 5th of May, then close at hand, being the 700th anniversary of the grant of municipal independence to the citizens of Norwich by King Richard I. The Mayor, Sir Peter Eade, M.D. (in the absence of the President), took the chair. King Richard's Charter was exhibited, and an explanatory paper was read by the Rev. W. Hudson.

On July 18th a successful excursion was held. A large number of members and friends went by train from Norwich to Wells, whence they visited Stiffkey Hall and Church, Warham Camp, Walsingham Priory and

Church, and East Barsham Hall. Papers were read or descriptions given by the Rev. C. R. Manning at Stiffkey and Warham; by the Rev. A. H. Wansbrough at Walsingham; and the Rev. W. Martin at East Barsham.

An excursion was also held on September 27th, when the following places were visited:—Tasburgh Church and Camp, where a paper was read by the Rev. W. Hudson; Long Stratton St. Mary Church, described by the Rev. Canon Brown, the Sexton's Wheel being explained by the Rev. W. H. Sewell; Shelton Church, which was the subject of a paper by the Rev. B. J. Armstrong, published by our Society; Hardwick Church; Gawdy Hall, where a paper was read by Mr. J. Sancroft Holmes; Redenhall Church, described by the Ven. Archdeacon Perowne; and Starston Church, by the Rev. E. C. Hopper.

In the Report read at last year's annual meeting mention was made of two approaching events of special interest to members of this Society. The first was the re-opening of Norwich Cathedral Choir and Presbytery after extensive cleaning and re-arrangements, which had necessitated its being closed for many months. The re-opening took place on May 2nd, and was presided over by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who occupied the famous stone seat of the Norman Bishops. This Society desires to record its sense of the care which has evidently been taken by the Dean and Chapter to avoid, so far as possible, any interference with structural details. The general result has, no doubt, been to enhance the beauty of this part of the Cathedral. But all alterations, however carefully made, tend to obliterate architectural details by the aid of which a practised eye could read much of the history of the past. It is much to be wished that in such cases an exact record should be made of what has been done.

The other event was the conversion of the old Castle Keep into an integral portion of the new Castle Museum. The success of the inaugural ceremony which took place on October 23rd, and was conducted by their Royal Highnesses, the Duke and Duchess of York, hardly comes within the province of this Society to record. They wish, however, to express their satisfaction at the excellent manner in which, on the whole, the antiquarian interest of the building has been preserved. Some may have wished to see it left as a ruin; but it is pertinent to observe that it is to its preparation for its present use that we owe the revelation of most of the interior architectural details which add so much to its interest, and which are now effectually secured against future decay.

The efforts which were being made last year, chiefly by the Yarmouth Branch of our Society, to preserve the tower of the Church of Eccles-by-the-Sea were so far successful that some work was done which it was hoped might have effected its purpose. But, the forces of nature proved too strong to be defied. On January 23rd of this present year, after a series of exceptionally violent gales and high tides, the tower was overthrown by the sea. The notes which Mr. F. Danby Palmer had read at Yarmouth to arouse interest in the building were actually being printed for our next publication when the catastrophe occurred. Instead of assisting in the preservation of the old tower, they have had to be altered into a record of its destruction.

The same active branch of our Society is endeavouring to purchase some more of the existing remains of the Greyfriars' Monastery at Yarmouth, to be vested (as some of the remains are already) in the Tolhouse Trustees.

The 3rd and concluding part of Vol. XII. of the Society's publications is in a forward stage of progress.

The Committee also have the pleasure of announcing that they will be able at the same time to issue the concluding portion of Vol. II. of the *Norfolk Visitation*. They feel that they cannot adequately express the thanks of the Society to General Bulwer for the skill and perseverance with which he has conducted this laborious work for so many years, at no little cost as well as labour. He began this volume with two coadjutors. One, the Rev. William Grigson, died in 1879; the other, Mr. Carthew, in 1882; since which time he has borne the burden alone.

The Volume will be accompanied with a full Index, for which the Society's thanks are due to the Rev. Edmund Farrer, F.S.A.

Turning to the losses of the Society during the past year, the Committee regret that they have been greater than usual. First must be mentioned, Mr. Robert Fitch, F.G.S., F.S.A., whose connection with the Society dates back to its commencement. The 1st Volume of *Norfolk Archaeology* contains a notice by him of a "Seal of Carrow Nunnery," and he has survived till the last portion of Volume XII. was passing through the Press. His principal contribution to local Archæology was the *Gates of Norwich*, published by the Society as a separate volume in 1861. The Society was instituted in 1845, and Mr. Fitch was one of the original members. He was elected on the Committee on January 6th, 1848. Before 1859 he was both Treasurer and Hon. Sec. He continued to act as Hon. Secretary until 1887, and as Hon. Treasurer till 1888, and only relinquished these offices under stress of old age. On ceasing to act as Hon. Secretary he was elected a Vice-President of the Society. Of the valuable collections of antiquities and objects of varied interest, which he gathered together during his long life, it is not necessary here to speak. He has

left behind him an abiding memory by his generous donation of them to the Castle Museum.

We have also to regret the loss of the late Bishop Pelham, who became a member in 1857, and was for many years Patron of the Society. Two of our Vice-Presidents have also died during the year, the Right Rev. Lord Arthur Hervey, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and the Earl of Orford. Besides these we have lost, at a very advanced age, three of our very oldest members. Mr. S. Wilton Rix, of Beccles, was elected a member on May 6th, 1846. He was most enthusiastic in archæological research, though his contributions to this Society were only few. Mr. Henry Birkbeck was also elected in 1846, and the Rev. T. G. F. Howes, of Belton, on February 3rd, 1847. Mr. C. Norton Elvin, of East Dereham, was widely known for his valuable works on heraldry; and the death of Miss Ewing, of Norwich, who had for more than 30 years been a member, recalls the memory of her father, Mr. W. C. Ewing, one of the founders of the Society and author of several well-known works of local archæological interest.

The Committee deeply regret to announce that the Rev. C. R. Manning, F.S.A., has signified his wish to resign the office of Hon. Secretary, which he has now held for forty-three years, since January 29th, 1852. Mr. Manning's services to the Society during that long period have been so numerous and valuable that it is impossible adequately to describe what the Society owes to him. The history of them would almost be the history of the Society itself during the greater part of its existence. In thanking him for all he has done we may hope that he may still for many years be able to give us the benefit of his counsel and assistance, and the Committee propose, as a slight recognition of his services, to place his name on the list of Vice-Presidents.

Another valued member of our Committee, Dr. Jessopp,

has also expressed a wish to be relieved from active membership of the Committee. In recommending that his name also be added to the list of Vice-Presidents, the Committee not only feel that the Society is conferring a well-deserved honour on one of its most distinguished and useful members, but, inasmuch as Vice-Presidents are ex-officio members of the Committee, they are persuaded that both he and Mr. Manning will not cease from taking part in the administration of the Society.

Instead of electing a second General Secretary in place of Mr. Manning, the Committee recommend that an Excursion Secretary be appointed, who should organize the Society's excursions and meetings. They propose the name of Mr. L. G. Bolingbroke, of Norwich, as being well qualified for that purpose.

The members of Committee who retire by rotation are Mr. Beloe, Rev. E. Farrer, Rev. J. W. Millard, Mr. J. Mottram, Mr. Palgrave, and Mr. Williams. The Committee propose their re-election, and in place of Dr. Jessopp, Mr. J. C. Tingey, of Norwich; and, in place of Mr. Bolingbroke, Mr. Edward Evans Lombe, of Melton Hall, Wymondham.

Dr. Norfolk and Gloucester Archaeological Society.—The Treasurer's Account, 1894.

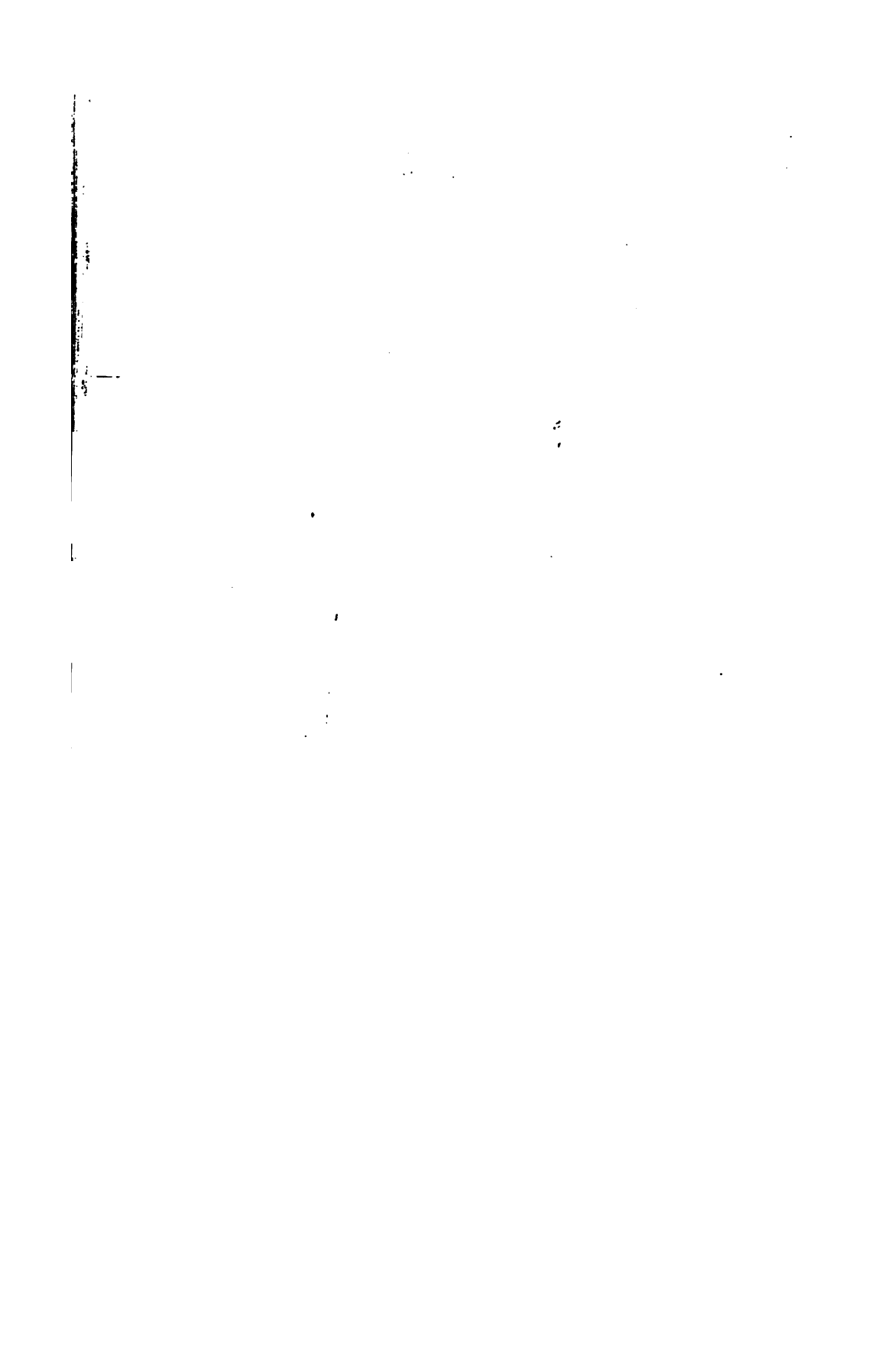
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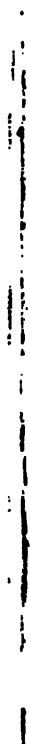
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April 27th, 1885.

Examined and found correct.
PHILIP BACK, Auditor.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.





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